

THE
EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. XXVIII.

APRIL, 1856.

ARTICLE I.

HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF FREDERICK, MD.

By Rev. George Diehl, A. M.

As we are about taking our leave of this house of worship, as a Sabbath congregation,¹ it is proper that we should pause and look back. The connection of the congregation with this edifice will now be chiefly in its past history. Hereafter this house will be a mere appendage to the larger and more elegant church about to be consecrated to God. When the traveller has gained some overlooking height, which commands a view of the entire road he has traversed, he instinctively lingers for a time, while his eye takes in the sweep of plaids, hills and forests, and traces back the thread of his course, as it winds along the banks of silvery streams, through fertile vales and smiling villages, to the point from which he set out. When a man has reached some important transition in his life, he reflects cautiously on the events of his past journey, before he launches upon the future. So wisdom dictates that corporate associations should at times review the past, survey their own history, catch and treasure up the fleeting colors of the events and characters that have appeared upon the stage, and now gone forever behind the curtain. The past, in all its minute details, is important, because it has influenced the

¹ This discourse was delivered in the old Lutheran church of Frederick, on December 2, 1855, the last Sabbath it was occupied by the congregation.

present, and will continue to send its influence into the future. "The smallest thing becomes respectable when regarded as the commencement of what has advanced or is advancing into magnificence. The first rude settlement of Romulus would have been an insignificant circumstance, and might justly have sunk into oblivion, if Rome had not at length commanded the world. The little rill near the source of one of the great American rivers, is an interesting object to the traveller, who is apprised as he steps across it, or walks a few miles along its banks, that this is the stream which runs so far, and which gradually swells into so immense a flood. So while I anticipate the endless progress of life, and wonder through what unknown scenes it is to take its course, its past years lose that character of vanity which would seem to belong to a train of fleeting, perishing moments, and I see them assuming the dignity of a commencing eternity. In them I have begun to be that conscious existence which I am to be through infinite duration; and I feel a strange emotion of curiosity about this little life in which I am setting out on such a progress." A similar importance attaches to the early events and characters in the history of a christian congregation. They have transmitted an influence to us, which we will send, blended with our own, to posterity. A church that has existed for a century, and may run its existence into the future till all separate associations shall be blended in the one glorious body of Christ, has a life also; and a sketch, imperfect though it be, of its small beginning and gradual growth, cannot be without interest.

The records of this church take us back in its history to the 22nd of August, 1737. German families of the Lutheran church, must have settled in this neighborhood several years earlier, perhaps about 1729 or 1730. Frederick was laid out as a town, in September, 1745, by Mr. Patrick Dulany. Its streets were intended to run due north and south, east and west, but from the clumsiness of the wooden instruments used in the survey, the object was not accomplished. In 1748, on the formation of the new county of Frederick, this was made the county town; and from that time continued to increase in wealth, population and influence. Rev. Dr. Mayer, who has examined with great care all accessible records on the early history of the Germans in this country, says, "Monocacy was the name of the region of country situated on both sides of the stream of that name, agreeably to the custom of the Indians, who gave the names of streams to the countries which they drained. The first German settlement in Maryland was

made in this region, between the Monocacy and the mountain, at the place where Fredericktown subsequently arose."

This country was then a wilderness, on the outskirts of civilization. An immense forest covered this fertile valley, inhabited, or traversed as a hunting-ground by the Indians. The men that came here to subdue the forest and cultivate the soil, were a hardy race. They had left the home of their childhood and kindred in Europe, to seek a residence in this western world. Dark, untamed forests were here, the home of savage men and wild animals; the wolf, the panther, the bear and the deer. But here they settled, reared their rude dwellings, and commenced to clear the ground. From the summit of the Catoctin mountain, the eye of the Indian, as it swept the range of this beautiful valley, soon saw the luxuriant woods dotted here and there with fields, and the smoke curling gracefully among the branches of the trees, as it ascended from the white man's hut. The sound of the woodman's axe and saw, and the cheerful voices of children gave life to the scene, and bore to the ear of the savage unmistakable proof, that the tide of civilization rolling westward, would soon sweep him from the soil that sepulchred the ashes of a long ancestry.

Those hardy, industrious, and honest Germans, brought with them their Bible, their hymnbook, and a few devotional works. As soon as a sparsely settled community had formed around them, they sent word across the ocean, home to Germany, to the ministers of their faith, that here were scattered sheep of the fold—souls hungering for the word of life, children to be baptized, communicants to be fed, young penitents to be confirmed, blooming youth to be united in wedlock, and dying members of Christ's body to be buried. And there were hearts in the Fatherland to respond to the appeal. Muhlenberg and others heard the Macedonian cry, and came to this new country to break to the famishing flock the bread of life.

On the 31st of October, 1746, Rev. Gabriel Naesman, pastor of the Lutheran church of Vicaco, in Philadelphia, visited this place, preached in "the new town of Monocacy," baptized one young man, nineteen years of age, and six children. Before this, the congregation, although organized, kept no church record. This minister took up a subscription to raise a sufficient sum to purchase a large and substantially bound church record book, which was procured before he left the place. In this book he states the fact of his preaching here at the time, and of his performing those baptisms, which constitutes the first entry upon our records. The deacons and

school teacher were then instructed by him to make an entry of his baptisms, and the ministerial acts that had been performed in the congregation at a prior date. It is therefore apparent that Lutheran ministers must have visited the place before that time. The baptisms which they performed, could have been recorded only in their private journals, and in family Bibles. From these private sources the teacher and deacons collected fifty-four baptisms, of a date prior to Mr. Naesman's visit in October, 1746, and recorded them in the church book.

The first baptism upon record, is that of George Frederick Unsult, son of Frederick Unsult, born on the 6th of August, 1737, and baptized on the 22nd of the same month; at which baptism Rev. Mr. Wolf's name appears as sponsor. The probability is that he administered the ordinance and stood as sponsor; but of what denomination he was a clergyman, whether Lutheran, German Reformed or Episcopalian, does not appear. It is not known that any of the descendants of those fifty-four persons whose names occur in that early list of baptisms, are now living in this community. But from 1746 to 1763, the record bears among others, the familiar names of Bechtel, Schley, Culler, Angelberger and Metzgar.

On the 24th of June, 1747, in the reign of King George II, a constitution was adopted, and signed by the church wardens, John George Lay, John Stirtzman, John Michael Roemer, George Michael Hoffman, Peter Appel and Henry Six, and twenty-six additional communicants, in all thirty-four male members. The constitution states that the congregation had been distracted by men who styled themselves Lutheran ministers, but could produce no certificate of ordination by any Lutheran Consistory or Ministry. It was enacted; therefore, that from that date, no man should preach in the church who cannot furnish the requisite credentials of ordination and character, nor without the consent of the wardens.

Another article granted the use of the church to regularly ordained German Reformed ministers. It would seem that in 1747 the German Reformed brethren were without a house of worship; but they built one during that and the following year.

This constitutes the first epoch in the history of this congregation—the period of some twenty-five years prior to the French and Indian war. A few years after Frederick was laid out, we find here a Lutheran church and congregation of at least thirty-four male members, but without a pastor, and dependent upon occasional visitors for ministerial service. Those were the frontier men—the pioneers of civilization and

christianity. The province of Maryland then (1748) contained a population of one hundred and thirty thousand souls, chiefly in the lower counties, and on the eastern shore. Westward stretched one unbroken wilderness, and Indians inhabited the mountains within a few miles of Frederick.¹ We know very little of the founders of this church, beyond the fact that theirs was the common lot. We know

"That joy and grief and hope and fear,
Alternate triumphed in their breast;
Their bliss and woe—a smile, a tear!
Oblivion hides the rest.

The bounding pulse, the languid limb,
The changing spirits' rise and fall;
We know that these were felt by them,
For these are felt by all.

They suffered—but their pangs are o'er;
Enjoyed—but their delights are fled;
Had friends—their friends are now no more;
And foes—their foes are dead.

They loved—but whom they loved the grave
Hath lost in its unconscious womb;
Their brides were fair: but nought could save
Their beauty from the tomb."

The second epoch extends from 1750 to 1770—the period of the Indian war and twelve subsequent years. The archives of the church contain the original deed, dated May 30, 1752, of Daniel Dulany to Conrad Grosh and Frederick Un-sult, granting a lot to the congregation for the erection of a house of worship, to be built and completed before the 29th of May, 1757. About six years afterward, on the 21st of August, 1758, the elder Daniel Dulany having deceased, at the request of Rev. Barnabas Michael Housel, a confirmatory deed was obtained from Daniel Dulany, son of the former, securing the lot to the congregation. The terms of the former grant requiring the completion of the edifice before the 29th of May, 1757, not having been complied with, the second deed was thought to be essential to the validity of the title.

The first church edifice was a log house, afterward converted into a school house, on the ground now occupied by the parsonage. From the language of the deed of the elder Dulany, it is evident that in the spring of 1752, the congregation contemplated the erection of a new house of worship. From the phraseology of the younger Dulany's deed, it is equally clear

¹ See Schlatter's Journal.

that the church edifice was not completed within the specified time, viz, May 1757.

In or about the year 1753, the congregation, being still destitute of a pastor, but full of faith and zeal, in reliance upon divine aid, commenced the building of a substantial church, which was the original stone church, the front of which was torn down eighteen months ago, to make room for the new. Those hard-toiling people entered upon the work; young and old, men and women lent a helping hand. The foundation was dug, and the walls reared to the height of five or six feet, when the regular pursuits and business of this new town and settlement were thrown into confusion by the Indian war. Frederick, as the most important frontier town of Maryland, became an important centre of operation for the war. For a time the army was quartered here. Here Governor Sharpe of Maryland met Col. George Washington and Gen. Braddock, to arrange the plan of the campaign. Hither Benjamin Franklin, Post Master General of the colonies, came to have an interview with the Governor and the officers of the army.

Many stalwart young men, mechanics and laborers, became soldiers, and took up arms in defence of their firesides against a savage foe. All the wagons and teams that could be procured in the country, were hired to transport provisions and implements of war across the mountains. The county records state that the contractors for building the court house, which went up simultaneously with the old Lutheran church, could not procure laborers or wagons to carry on the work, but were obliged to delay it. From the same causes the building of the church was also arrested. There they stood, those unfinished walls, not higher than a man's head, for four or five years, while the sunshine and the rains of heaven, caused the roots of the felled trees to shoot again; so that when the work was resumed, tradition says, a second forest had to be cut down. O that the same consecrated spot may ever be equally fruitful in yielding the plants of righteousness. Just one hundred years ago, our fathers had no other church, than those bare walls, forty-five feet square, and six feet high. It was a time of universal panic. Again and again, the report came of the massacre of whole families in the vallies across the mountain. And no one knew, when he barricaded his wooden dwelling at night, but that when he and his family were asleep, the savage foeman might approach with rifle, and tomahawk, and fire. Before the morning dawned, himself, or wife, or child, might be weltering in their blood. But that war, like other evils, came to an end.

The work was resumed, probably in 1759, and the building carried forward till the walls were up, and the roof stretched over them. The church was dedicated to the service of Almighty God, by Rev. John Christopher Hartwick, on the second Sunday after Trinity, 1762. For nearly a century God's people assembled in that consecrated house, to worship and praise his holy name, and learn the way to heaven. On the second Sunday after Trinity also (rather a remarkable coincidence) 1854, just ninety-two years after its consecration, the congregation was informed that on the next day workmen would commence to tear down one half the church. It was with feelings of pain that we beheld the men lay their hands upon that sacred edifice. Many eyes were moistened with tears when the spire was torn from its lofty place in the air, on Monday, the 27th of June, 1854, and hurled headlong to the earth. In the space of a few weeks we razed to the ground more than half the edifice, which cost our fathers so much anxiety, and toil, and sacrifice; a temple, over the rearing of which, they prayed and wept; an enterprise which, from its incipency to the day of its consecration, occupied many of their best energies for the space of ten years. Another illustration of the truth that all earthly things, even those devoted to the most useful and sacred purposes, are passing away.

During that period of anxiety, while the Indian war was raging, Dr. Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the American Lutheran church, visited this place to comfort and feed the flock. As the old wooden church was no longer in a condition to worship in, he tells us, that the Reformed as well as the Episcopalians, offered him the use of their churches, and he preached in both. After the close of the Indian war, this neighborhood enjoyed some twelve or fifteen years of uninterrupted prosperity. The county was now filling up, the Indians receding farther into the wilderness, and the town growing. This congregation advanced in progress with the community. A year after the consecration of the church, in 1763, a new constitution was adopted, more full and minute in its details than the former. Seventy-eight names are affixed to it.

It was during this second epoch, that the congregation first obtained the services of settled pastors. The first minister in charge mentioned in the church books, was Rev. Barnabas Michael Housel, who had the pastoral care of the church in 1758. Of his history, the writer knows nothing. How long he served the congregation, the records do not show. In what province he was born, when he crossed the ocean, whither he went from this place, where he afterwards labored, and when

he died, we have no means of ascertaining. We only know, that in 1758, he, as bishop of this church, requested of Daniel Dulany a confirmatory deed for the lot on which the church was to be reared and the dead interred.

In 1762 Rev. John Christopher Hartwick was here performing ministerial acts, of which he made a careful record in the church book, exclusively in the Latin language. The congregation offered him a call, and entered into a formal contract, obligating themselves to give him an adequate support, if he would become their pastor. While he held this call in consideration, he went away for a time, and then felt persuaded that another people had a stronger claim upon his services. As he could not at that time enter upon this field of labor, the congregation, perhaps at his suggestion, tendered the pastoral care of the flock to Rev. John Samuel Schwerdtfeger, to whom they transferred the same obligation to provide a salary. This clergyman continued his labors here till 1768, about six years. In December, 1768, Rev. Mr. Hartwick returned to the place, and took the spiritual oversight of the congregation for the space of eight months.

Mr. Hartwick was an original man. His bold chirography and the peculiar style of his entries in the church book, would alone be sufficient to show that their writer had his own way of saying and doing things. All the facts and anecdotes connected with his history, that have come down to us, exhibit him as a man of great eccentricities and strongly marked character. When he served this congregation he was in his fifty-sixth year. He had no family; and it is said that disappointment in love in early life, had soured his mind against the female sex. He was a good and conscientious man, faithful according to his convictions of duty, but unfortunately his eccentricities interfered with his usefulness, and prevented his remaining for any considerable period a settled pastor in any one place. In his will, which is a very singular document, he says of himself, "My name is Johannes Christophorus Hartwig, which the English, according to their dialect, pronounce and write Hardwick," (he sometimes wrote it Hartwick, and in the Frederick church book, always Hardovicum) "a native of the Dukedom of Saxe Gotha, in the province Thuringia, in Germany, sent hither a missionary preacher of the Gospel, upon petition and call of some Palatine congregations in the then counties of Albany and Duchess, New York." He came to this country in the capacity of Chaplain to a German regiment in the service of England, during the first French war. He was a member of the first Lutheran Synod held in this

country, in 1748. His first pastoral charge was in Hunterdon county, N. J. From there he removed to the city of New York, and thence to Dutchess and Ulster counties, and lived in Rhinebeck. He also preached for a time at the Trappe, Pa., and in Philadelphia. He subsequently removed to the State of New York, where he continued to reside for the rest of his life. A writer in the October number of the *Evangelical Review*, to whom we are indebted for many of these facts, says: "The manner of his death was singular, and furnishes a remarkable instance of the power of the imagination over the mind. Forty years before his death, the impression from a dream on his birth day that he would live just forty years longer, had become so strong, that he felt persuaded the dream would be fulfilled. As the period fixed upon in his mind approached, all doubt of the certainty of the time was dispelled. On the day preceding his eightieth year, he came to the residence of Hon. J. R. Livingston, his intimate friend, and with whose family he ever enjoyed the most friendly intercourse, and announced that he had come to die at his house. He appeared to be in the full possession of health, and entered freely into religious conversation, and in the evening conducted the devotional exercises of the house. The next morning he breakfasted in apparent health, and engaged in conversation with the family, until the approach of the hour which his imagination had fixed upon as the moment of his departure. This was 11 o'clock in the morning. A few minutes before the time, he requested permission to retire. Mr. Livingston followed him to the room. Just as the clock told the hour, he fell back on his bed and expired." His remains repose in the Lutheran church of Albany, and an inscription on a marble tablet over his tomb, informs us that he was born on the 6th of January, 1714, and died on the 16th of July, 1796, aged eighty-two years and six months. He left a large estate—thirteen hundred acres of land in the State of New York—which he bequeathed to the Lutheran church, for the establishment of a seminary of learning for training ministers of the Gospel and missionaries. He may thus be regarded as the founder of Hartwick Seminary, which is located upon his land, and endowed by his liberality.

This brings us to the third epoch of the history of this church, viz: the ministry of Rev. John Andrew Krug. The congregation was now to be blessed with the uninterrupted labors of a settled pastor, a godly man, for a period of more than twenty-five years. Mr. Krug administered the Lord's Supper to the congregation in 1770. But the records would seem to

indicate that he took the pastoral care of the church on the 28th of April, 1771.

Things assumed a new aspect. The population of the town and surrounding country was increasing. The prosperity of the church was evident to all. The communion list swelled its numbers. Many young persons were added by confirmation. And all things looked encouraging, until the horrors of war once more swept over the country. The colonies and the mother country were now at variance. The States declared their independence, and prepared for the struggle for liberty. Dark war clouds stretched over all the firmament, and this congregation bore its share of the calamities, as it afterwards reaped its portion of the blessings resulting from it. But war, under any circumstances, is a dreadful scourge; and upon none of the interests of life are its deleterious effects more deeply felt, than in its baleful influence upon religion. As soon as peace again blessed the land, the affairs of this church improved into a better condition than they had been at any previous era. There stood the substantial stone church; its walls and ceiling as yet unplastered; its aisles paved with flag stones; no floor beneath the pews, but merely a strip of board to each pew, for the feet to rest upon, and the bare ground underneath. The pulpit—a small, round, old-fashioned pulpit—stood on the west side of the church, with an elevated pew on either side of it, for the elders and deacons. In the pulpit stood the minister; a man already in the prime of life, and verging toward old age; somewhat small in stature; slender in form; rather feeble in voice; not fluent in his utterance; but a man of ripe scholarship, educated in the universities of Europe; a man of mind, of goodness and piety. When he preached, the scriptures were thoroughly expounded, and practically applied to the hearers. He was mild in his disposition, warm in his affections, and laborious in his professional duties. His parish extended over a wide scope of country, but among all his numerous flock, he visited the sick, catechized the young, comforted the afflicted, and admonished the ungodly.

In those homely pews sat the congregation. They were plain men; not classically educated; not accomplished in the refinements of life. Upon their brows, and on their hands, they bore the marks of honest toil. They were, however, men of integrity; men whose word and promise could be relied on. Many of them loved their God, and all of them seemed to love their church. They were frugal, thriving farmers, mechanics, laborers, and a few merchants. Some of

them were Nathaniels, in whom there was no guile. Turn to another part of the church, and see the women of that day; plain, modest and unobtrusive; listening devoutly to the word, to draw from it strength to bear the trials of life, and consolation to soothe its sorrows. Often were those meek eyes moistened with tears, and those subdued countenances bowed to the earth. Many of those mothers had passed through deep affliction, and had practically learned the vanities and sorrows of earth, in the heartrending scenes of the Revolutionary war. They had furnished recruits for the army. Their sons and husbands had bled in the cause of liberty. Some of them fell on bloody fields. And here was woman's devoted heart bleeding over the sacrifice. In another portion of the church were the young ladies of that day. Look at them—young and fresh, with the rosy bloom of health upon their cheeks. They had not graduated in renowned seminaries of learning; but they had learned many useful things, notwithstanding. They had not enjoyed the advantages of boarding schools; but they were skilled in the mysteries of the kitchen and dining room. They could not, perhaps, have entertained an intelligent company in a fashionable parlor, with brilliant conversation; but they were accomplished in the fine arts of housekeeping. They were not arrayed in costly attire. They wore no Brussels veils, nor Canton crape shawls, nor brocade dresses; perhaps not even kid gloves; and when they walked the streets, no superfluous train of silk trailed at their heels; but many of them were clothed with the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. They did not perform on the piano, nor trill through all the intricacies of an Italian opera song, but they were skilled in the practice of gardening, and in cases of emergency, could make a hand in the meadow or harvest field. They were not familiar with fashionable novels; but many of them had committed the catechism to memory, and could recite long chapters from the Bible. And when compared with their great grand-daughters, in one respect, they stand on immensely higher ground. Scarcely one of them attained her seventeenth summer without making a profession of faith in Christ. They pondered the words of the Savior, "whosoever confesseth me before men, will I also confess before my Father in heaven. But whosoever denieth me before men, him will I also deny before the Father and his holy angels." A young lady of that day lost caste in christian society, if she refused to become a member of the christian church.

Such was the condition of the congregation for some years after the close of the war. Then came a period of degenera-

cy. During the latter years of Mr. Krug's ministry, a faction arose in the congregation in opposition to the kind old pastor. This embittered his last years. He was born in Germany, March 19, 1732 (George Washington's birth year). He took charge of this congregation when he was in his fortieth year; and served it for twenty-five years, one month and two days. He died on the 30th of May, 1796, at the age of sixty-four years, two months and eleven days. His remains repose beneath the aisle of the old church.

His successor was Rev. Mr. Willbahn, who took charge of the congregation on the 4th of December, 1796, and continued in office till the 4th of June, 1798.

In the last year of the last century, there came from Germany a young man, a graduate of one of the Universities, an ordained minister, slender in person, graceful in his movements, polished in manners, and rather elegant and fashionable in the style of his dress. That young man was Rev. Frederick Moeller, who became pastor of this church on the 1st of December, 1799, the same month in which Washington died. While the country was shrouded in gloom, this congregation could mingle with their lamentations over the death of the father of his country, a note of joy in seeing their pulpit again supplied. Mr. Moeller, although thoroughly educated, was not an eloquent speaker. Highly respectable in talent, he was not remarkable for great grasp or originality of thought. Yet he possessed abundantly, all the requisite ability and scholarship to expound the word of God.

It was during his ministry that the tower and spire were put up, and the interior of the church considerably improved. In August, 1800, the church council contracted with Mr. Stephen Steiner to build and erect a steeple, for the sum of seventeen hundred dollars, and to make up any loss that he might sustain by the contract, to the amount of one hundred dollars. In the following year the work was completed.

The church was now well finished; the walls plastered; the floor laid; the pews comfortable; the steeple reared and pointing heavenward. The bells, of wonderful sweetness, hung in their place in the tower, ready to ring out their varied tones. For more than half a century, those bells, high up toward the blue heavens, "a neighbor to the thunder," have pealed forth the tokens of joy and of sorrow. At the close of the week, from the airy belfry, their tongues have spoken the signal note on the approach of the Sabbath. And on the day of rest, how often have they not called worshippers to the house of God? How often have they rung out their cheering

sounds upon the anniversary of our nation's liberty? As often as the old year has departed, and the new one entered, from their lofty tower they gave warning of the flight of time. How mournful some of the associations connected with those bells!

"From the steeple,
Tolls the bell!
Deep and heavy,
The death-knell!

Guiding with dirge-note solemn, sad, and slow,
To the last home, earth's weary wanderers know.

It is that worshipped wife—
It is that faithful mother!

Whom the dark prince of shadows leads benighted,
From that dear arm where oft she hung delighted.

Ah! rent the sweet home's union band,
And never, never more to come—
She dwells within the shadowy land,
Who was the mother of that home."

Rev. Mr. Moeller retained the care of the flock for two years and six months. He resigned his charge on the 1st of June, 1802, and removed to Chambersburg. There he continued his pastoral labors for nearly thirty years. He subsequently removed to Ohio, and has long since entered upon his rest.

Next in succession came Rev. Frederick William Jazinsky, who commenced his labors as minister in charge in July 1802, and continued them until 1807—about five years. He was already beyond the meridian of life; yet neither his physical nor mental energies gave any symptoms of decay. He was a man of muscle and sinew; of nerve and spirit; of boldness and military address. Indeed it was said, that in his youth he was an officer in the army of Frederick the Great. But becoming pious, he gave up war for divinity. He was endowed with a full, round and strong voice. His manner in the pulpit was not bland, but rather stern. No insults were offered to him, nor outrage perpetrated upon his premises. The rebellious spirits of the congregation doubted whether it would be safe to do so. They feared his early warlike spirit might be aroused; and in personal courage they knew him to be immensely their superior. He boldly rebuked the vestry, and held them up to ridicule before the whole congregation, for their inefficiency. Yet they endured it. The same characters who had insulted the kind-hearted Mr. Krug in his old age, and who had found fault with the young Mr. Moeller, because his step was too elastic, and his manners too polished, and his attire too fashionable, said nothing openly against the plain-spoken, harsh and denunciatory Jazinsky. They indeed

disliked him more than the amiable ministers they had formerly persecuted. But now they thought "discretion the better part of valor." There was that in the man—his eye, and countenance, and bearing—that told them plainly, that he who had once commanded the conquering battalions of the great Frederick, had not come here to be their football. Their murmurs, therefore, were cautiously uttered; not in his hearing. You may imagine that although no flaw could be found in his christian character, nor want of pastoral fidelity, he was not a popular man.

On the 17th of July, 1808, Rev. David F. Schaeffer took charge of the congregation. He was then in the bloom and vigor of youth—in his twenty-second year. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and a student of theology under Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt. Although young, he was a man, a full grown man, six feet high: a man in body; a man in mind; a man in heart; a man in education and clerical deportment; a man in social feeling, and in practical life; one of the finest looking men in Maryland. He entered with zeal upon the discharge of his duties. He labored in season and out of season; in town and in the country; on the Lord's day, and during the week; in the pulpit and out of the pulpit; beside the sick bed and in the catechetical class. He soon won the confidence and affection of the people of his own church, and of the community at large. "He was a man to all the country dear." He adapted himself so admirably to the social instincts of all classes and all ages, that while the serious and the refined were delighted with his company, the poorest and humblest thought their lowly dwelling far more cheerful when his familiar footsteps entered, and his benignant countenance beamed among them. The wicked and the worldly-minded had none but the kindest feelings for him, and

"Even children followed with endearing wile,
And plucked his gown to share the good man's smile."

The church records show that during his ministry, the annual accessions by confirmation, and the number of communicants, of baptisms and marriages, were larger than they have ever been before or since.

Early in his ministry, the English language was introduced into the services of the church. In 1816 English service became a regular appointment. This was an important era in the history of the American Lutheran Church. This congregation was one among the first in the country, and the first

Lutheran church in the State of Maryland to introduce that language into the services of the sanctuary. The measure was long resisted by the fathers, until at length they saw that it was absolutely necessary to the perpetuity of a Lutheran church in this land. Had it been introduced at an earlier day, the church would now number twice her present membership, and wield an influence equal to that of the strongest denominations of the country. Even as it is, the benefits resulting from the introduction of the English language, have been, and will yet be, incalculable. The infusion of the characteristics and elements of the Anglo Saxon race and tongue into the church, has been of great benefit. The best qualities of the English nation are thus acting upon the German character, and German theology and many of the noblest qualities of German nationality, are acting upon American character in the Lutheran church; and from the blending of these influences we may look for the noblest developments of christianity. In the progress of the human race, it is a well established fact, that the noblest specimens of individual and national character and greatness, have sprung from the blending of nations or races, as in the case of the Greeks and Romans in ancient, and the English in modern times. Why should not the same principle hold good in christianity? And if so, what may not be expected from the Lutheran church in this country, which unites to the depth of German theology and the integrity of the German character, the revival spirit, as well as the practical energy of the Puritan? The Lutheran church in this country has a glorious destiny before her, if she will only be faithful to her mission.

This congregation was intimately connected with the General Synod in its early history. The first session of the General Synod was held in Frederick on the 21st of October, 1821. Dr. Lochman, of Harrisburg, was President, and Rev. D. F. Schaeffer, Secretary. The third convention of the General Synod was held in Frederick, November 6, 1825. Rev. Mr. Shober, of North Carolina, was President, and Rev. D. F. Schaeffer was Secretary. The first service of that Synod was the consecration of the church which had just been enlarged. The pastor of this congregation was also Secretary of the fourth convention of that body, in October, 1827, at Gettysburg, as well as of the convention in Hagerstown, 1829. The sixth meeting of the General Synod took place in Frederick, Oct. 1831, of which Rev. D. F. Schaeffer was President. He was also President of the General Synod in Baltimore, in 1833. You see from this, that for the first twelve years of the history

of the General Synod, the pastor of this congregation, almost constantly held one of the highest offices in that body, and three of its conventions were held in this church.

The congregation having been greatly prospered for a period of fifteen years, became too large for the church. The north end of the house was taken down, and the church enlarged by an addition of twenty-eight feet, in the summer of 1825. The interior of the church was entirely remodeled, and the front improved, so that when completed, it was a beautiful and commodious church, for that day, and met the wants of the congregation for a period of thirty years.

A very large number of ministers prosecuted their studies under the tuition of the pastor of this church, before the establishment of Theological seminaries. Among the number we find the following: Rev. D. J. Hauer, Dr. C. P. Klauth, Michael Meyerheffer, W. Jenkins, J. Winter, D. P. Rosenmiller, John N. Hoffman, Benjamin Keller, F. S. Schaeffer, Charles F. Schaeffer, John Kehler, Jacob Medart, Emanuel Greenwald, Francis J. Ruth, Michael Wachter and Daniel Jenkins.

Some of those have gone to their rest. But most of them are still laboring in the vineyard of their Lord, and filling high posts of usefulness in our seminaries of learning, and as pastors of congregations.

Since the establishment of the institutions at Gettysburg, this congregation has furnished a goodly number of candidates for the ministry, viz: Rev. Jesse Winecoff, W. H. Harrison, Leonard Harrison, John J. Suman, James M. Harkey, Sidney L. Harkey, George J. Martz, George A. Nixdorff, Cyrus Waters, (now a clergyman in the Protestant Episcopal Church) J. Frederick Probst and Thomas W. Kemp. There is not, perhaps, another Lutheran congregation in the country, that has furnished the church, within the last forty-five years, with an equal number of able, efficient and faithful ministers of the Gospel.

The first religious periodical publication of the church in the English language, was issued from this place. It was "The Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer, containing historical, biographical, and religious memoirs; with essays on the doctrines of Luther, and practical remarks and anecdotes, for the edification of pious persons of all denominations," published by the Synod of Maryland, edited by a committee, of which Dr. Schaeffer was chairman, and printed by Mr. G. W. Sharp, at the "Citizen" office. The Intelligencer was a monthly periodical, commenced in March, 1826, and contin-

ued for five years. The ministry of Dr. Schaeffer extended over a period of more than twenty-eight years. He died on the 5th of May, 1837, aged forty-nine years, nine months and thirteen days. His remains repose beside those of his father and of his wife, in the congregational cemetery at the eastern end of Church street. The congregation erected over his grave, a plain neat marble shaft, as a monument to his memory. The records of the church show that during his ministry in this place, he baptized over two thousand infants, confirmed about fourteen hundred applicants for church membership, married about two thousand couple, and performed the funeral services of sixteen hundred burials. His pastoral career furnishes an exemplification of the immense influence wielded by kindness of heart, agreeable manners, and untiring industry in pastoral labor, on the part of a minister of the gospel. Some of his contemporaries, as well as successors in the sacred office, were endowed with an equal degree of mental power and eloquence, and attained an equal range of scholarship and culture, but he stands unrivalled in the Lutheran church in this country, of the present century, in his personal popularity and influence over the community in which he lived. Others have expended more labor upon their pulpit preparations, and expounded the scriptures with greater amplitude and force of appeal; but where is there a man within living memory, who could sway the minds of his parishioners and neighbors to the same extent that he could?

Rev. S. W. Harkey was installed pastor of this church on the 19th of February, 1837, and continued in office until August, 1850. His ministry is of too recent a date to require any farther notice on this occasion, and before this audience; for many of "you are his epistles known and read of all men."

This house, which we intend now to appropriate to the use of the Sunday School and the prayer meeting, is hallowed by a thousand sacred memories. In this church numbers have been awakened to a sense of the importance of religion. Here multitudes have been melted by the truth, and subdued by the Holy Spirit, while the power of the world to come has settled on their minds. The sighs of contrition have been heard, the tears of penitence have fallen, and the raptures of pardon have been felt. At this altar scores of infants have been baptized, and hundreds of adults consecrated themselves to God in an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure. Here men have been ordained to the gospel ministry. At this table generation after generation of communicants have

feasted upon that bread which comes down from heaven: and within these walls, for a century, congregations have been instructed, comforted and blest.

1 "Here to the High and Holy One,
Our fathers early reared,
A house of prayer, a lowly one,
Yet long to them endeared,
By hours of sweet communion,
Held with their covenant God,
As oft in sacred union,
His hallowed courts they trod.

2 Gone are the pious multitudes
That here kept holy time,
In other courts assembled now,
For worship more sublime;
Their children, we are waiting,
In meekness Lord, thy call;
Thy love still celebrating,
Our hope, our trust, our all.

3 These time-worn walls, the resting place
So oft from earthly cares,
To righteous souls now perfected,
We leave with thanks and prayers;
With thanks for every blessing
Vouchsafed through all the past,
With prayers thy throne addressing,
For guidance to the last."

ARTICLE II.

"Recollections of a journey through Tartary, Thibet and China, during the years 1844-45-46. By M. Huc, Missionary priest of the congregation of St. Lazarus. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.—1852."

There is, perhaps, no kind of light reading of a more healthful character, or more productive of pleasure and interest to all classes of mind, unperturbed by fictitious sentimentalism, and undebauched by fictitious immorality, than that which is occupied with the record of personal experience in the incidents of travel, and geographical exploration. Nor is this remark less true, whether as referring to regions hitherto unknown, or to those around which encircle the halo and ever freshening glory and charm of sacred and classical association. We read, indeed, with very different feelings, yet, alike, with interest, the first work on Japan, or the valley of the Amazon,

and the last, on Greece, or Palestine. With pleasant thoughts we look back to those days of childhood, when Robinson Crusoe and Sinbad, as veritable personages, journeyed with us, or rather, we with them, during the week, and when Christian and her Great Heart, and "Mercy and the children" were our companions on Sundays. No less pleasant are such recollections as connected with scenes of real adventure. Park and Cook, and La Perouse, have given quite as much pleasure to the youthful, as if their existence had been purely fictitious. While to other and maturer minds, they have combined with the same amount of interest, an immense fund of profitable information. If the propensity to travel, "to see and to be seen," is natural to Plato's featherless biped, no less so is the kindred propensity to know the result of such explorations, and to become interested in their progress: the vivid impressions created, through such means, in early life, never being obliterated, and, in many cases, forming a source of constantly increasing gratification. "Carsten Niebuhr, in extreme old age, after he had become blind, often entertained his friends with interesting details of what he had seen many years before. He said that as he lay blind upon his bed, the images of all that he had seen in the East, were ever present to his soul; and it was, therefore, no wonder that he should speak of them as of yesterday. In like manner, in the hours of stillness, there was vividly reflected to him the nocturnal view of the deep Asiatic heavens, with their brilliant host of stars, which he had so often contemplated; or else their blue and lofty vault by day; and this was his greatest enjoyment." We once met with an Octogenarian who, exclusive of his Bible, was almost literally "a man of one book." Fifty years ago, "et primis etiamnum Nestor in annis," he spelt his way through "Lewis and Clarke," with feelings of interest and delight which one of this date can hardly understand; which none but a mighty hunter, and a skilful fisherman, as he was, could even then fully appreciate. It was almost a new world opened to his imagination. Beyond the blue outline of those "backwoods" where "Braddock and his regulars" had been slaughtered like sheep in the wilderness, farther out than Point Pleasant, where General Lewis had beaten Cornstalk, and broken up the great Shawnee confederacy, beyond even the dark and bloody ground, where Daniel Boone had hunted deer, and fought bears, and slain Indians, was this new region of strange and wild, and marvellous adventure. One in which his untutored imagination revelled, the impressions of which were never forgotten. On long winter evenings Lewis and Clarke

constituted, alike, his material for constant illustration of passing events, and his store-house of wonderful narrative for his youthful auditors : a store-house inexhaustible, whether as to new matter, or as to the ever freshening interest with which the old was brought forward and reiterated. Green be the sod, and ever beautiful the wild flowers which cover the spot where his ashes are now resting ! We have lately heard from his pastor, with a thrill of delight which we feel it impossible to communicate, that the last years of the old man were cheered and interested by a still more marvellous narrative : that of the love, and grace, and sufferings of Jesus, and that when his eyes were closed upon the natural glories and beauty of that outward world which he loved so well, it was with a good hope through grace, that they would open again upon a fairer and brighter inheritance, secured to his everlasting possession.

But whatever may be said of this propensity of our nature, there is certainly no dearth, at the present time, of material for its gratification. Travellers there are in abundance, facilities of travel have increased, and are now increasing beyond all previous anticipation ; and every issue of the press brings us the result of some exploration of men, of manners, or of mere geographical space. Of course, there is an abundance of trash in this, and occasionally something worse, for public digestion. But even this is not as bad or mischievous as the vile garbage raked from the sewers and brothels of European capitals, the whining and morbid sentimentalism of one portion of our light literature, or the half infidel puppeysm of another. And while there are travels of this ephemeral class, there are others constantly making their appearance, of a permanent value, containing the results of varied and thorough investigation. We need only mention such books as Dr. Robinson's researches, Van Tschudi's Peru, Darwin's voyage of a naturalist, or Layard's last volume, as illustrations of this statement. No intelligent reader can fail of improvement or interest, in the perusal of such volumes. And if we place them in the hands of the youthful, we create in them a taste, and give their minds a delightful and healthful employment, by which they may be preserved from much of the pollution, both of a moral and religious character, with which the literature of the day is teeming so abundantly.

The book which we have placed at the head of our article, is one of this better character. It is not only in its style graphic and lifelike to a high degree, but it contains an immense amount of novel information. Father Huc, its author, a French missionary priest of the congregation of St. Lazarus,

with an assistant, M. Gabet, and a young convert, started from the neighborhood of Peking, in the beginning of the year 1844, upon a journey of exploration into the recently created Apostolic vicariate of Mongolia. Owing to various persecutions, to which, since the beginning of this century, it had been subjected, by the Chinese government, the mission at Peking had been broken up, and its converts scattered throughout the empire: many of them retiring, for safety, beyond the Great Wall, into the Mongolian territory. Here they were followed by the priests of the French Lazarists, to whom the care of the decaying mission had been committed, and with much toil and effort, brought together again and re-organized. M. Huc, and his companion, had already, in these efforts, visited portions of this territory, "the land of grass," to use the Chinese appellation. When, however, it had been created into an Apostolic vicariate, it became specially desirable to have its extent and resources as fully explored as possible. To meet this desire was the object of our author's excursion. In the course of it, his party spent several months in the pasturages and immense plains of Mongolian Tartary. Turning in their steps, they ventured to pass through, and remain for some time in the interior of China proper; and from there, after preparing themselves, by a study of language, and other necessary matters, to visit Lha Ssa, the holy city of Thibet, the residence of the Talé Lama. His journal, contained in these volumes, gives us the result of their observations. It is, of course, to be presumed that what was peculiarly the object of the mission upon which he was sent, is not here laid before the uninitiated. And the English publishers have left out certain statistical calculations, as of little interest to the large class of readers. The work is mainly valuable as presenting in a lifelike form, the feelings, and habits, and modes of expression prevalent among a hitherto unknown people, and for its descriptions of the religious rites and doctrines of Buddhism. The author is of easy faith, both in his reception of what is told, and in his anticipation of great effects from small means, in his own efforts for the conversion of the natives. But there is a truthfulness in his tone, which at once inspires confidence. We have no doubt of his integrity; and this conviction, above anything else, has heightened our pleasure in tracing his itinerary.

There are certain facts which render the information contained in these volumes of special interest to all classes of intelligent readers; to the christian reader particularly, at this present time. The progress of events, during the last few

years, seems to give promise of admission to the interior of the empire, and to be creating facilities for a more extensive publication of christian doctrine. Of no less importance to the prosperity of the missions already in existence, is this prospect of admission to the interior, for purposes of health during the warm season. Everything which contains information of the character of this interior, of any differences between the maritime and inland towns, is now doubly interesting. Portions of the journey of M. Huc, were through these hitherto sealed regions. His work on China proper, which has come subsequent to that of which we are now speaking, and which we may notice at some future time, gives us still fuller information. From his account in both of these works, the Chinaman seems to be the same everywhere: shrewd, sensual, with some degree of intellectual culture, but almost perfectly destitute of moral principle. One cannot avoid being struck by the inviolable testimony, not only of this writer, but of all residents, as to this corruption and moral worthlessness of the Chinese character. To use the idea of one of our American missionaries, no one can have such a conception of the debasing and polluting influences of heathenism, among the ancients, as can be gotten by a few months abode in a Chinese community. Nor is this corrupting influence confined to the ignorant and superstitious commonalty. The pantheistic philosophers, the Hegels and Emersons of China, are not only as bad, but really much worse than the common people. Like some of the philosophers of Greece and Rome, prior to the introduction of christianity, they have rid themselves of the slight restraints of the superstitious fear of the ignorant idolater, and they have found no substitute for this in the speculative vagaries of the learned philosopher. Discouraging as may be this prevalent corruption, the gospel is able to reach and purify it. It has done so in time past; and it can do so again. Just so soon as christendom realizes enough of the power of this gospel to have faith in it, just so soon will it begin its course of conquering and all pervading dominion.

Not less suggestive of interest and curious reflection, is the light thrown by the researches of our author upon the habits, and manners, and customs of those hordes of inner Asia, lying north and west of China proper, who have exerted so large an influence upon the fortunes of modern civilization. The reigning families of the two largest empires upon earth, China and Russia, are of Tartar descent: the one of these threatening again, as in the fourth and fifth centuries, to overwhelm the christianity and civilization of Europe with the

semibarbarism of Asia. The other either falling to pieces by its own weight, or being reconquered by the craft and civilization of which it had previously made conquest. From the immense plains and deserts of Mongolia and Tartary, issued those swarms of herdsmen by whom Constantinople was hemmed in, and the empire overrun, under Attila, in the fifth century. These same herdsmen, under Timur, became a power known and feared, from the Bosphorus to the Indian Ocean. And at a later date, under Kubla Khan, turning their arms in another direction, they passed over the great wall, and made conquest of China. Everything connected with this people is of interest to the philosophical enquirer. Especially is this the case when it is borne in mind, that like all Asiatic nations, particularly those of a nomadic mode of life, these tribes have undergone but little change in the course of centuries; are, with but little difference, what they were in the days of Zenghis and of Tamerlane. It is difficult to realize, at a very small distance inland, and at but slight elevation, that districts of country geologically marked as once forming part of an ocean bed, could ever again be submerged. It needs, however, but a glance at a map or a terrestrial globe, to have every such difficulty removed. Let the thoughtful reader of history look at that ethnological ocean which lies between the Yellow sea and the Caspian, let him remember how its waves, in time past, have risen above their ancient margin and overflowed, both eastwardly and westwardly, let him then note the marks of this overflow in Poland and Hungary, on one side, and in the Celestial empire on the other, and there will come up before his mind startling problems as to the future of our world, to which Omniscience alone can afford a solution. Let "the cohesive principle of public plunder," bind together these homogeneous masses of natural cavalry, as in the days of Tamerlane, or let this, and the stronger principle of religious fanaticism be combined, under a leader, like the Arabian impostor, to give the unity of concentration to their movements, and who can say how far and wide they will sweep, before their progress will be arrested. The time may come, when that semibarbarous power, which is now the dread, will be the Eastern shield and bulwark of civilization. "The Grand Lama," says father Huc, "need only move a finger, to raise the Mongols as a single man, from the frontiers of Siberia to the extremities of Thibet, and to make them rush like a torrent, to whatever point the voice of the saint should call them."

Not less suggestive of interest are these explorations, in view of the fact that we are brought in contact, and at head quar-

ters, with a religion which counts its votaries by millions, that of Buddhism. A religion which not only extended itself through India, into Greece, and contributed its due portion in that corruptive process by which much of christianity became mere asceticism, but which finds its philosophical advocates, at the present time, among the most enlightened nations of Europe. "Buddha is the one necessary being, independent, the principal and end of all things. The earth, the stars, man, all that exists, is a partial and temporary manifestation of Buddha. All has been created by Buddha, in the sense that all proceeds from him as the light from the sun. All beings emanating from Buddha have had a beginning, and will have an end; but as they proceeded necessarily from the eternal essence, they will be reabsorbed necessarily." If we substitute the word God for Buddha, in this passage, it might easily be passed off as one of the would be original utterances of modern pantheism. And as modern infidelity seems to be putting forth its strength in this direction; and to be endeavoring to get rid of all personal obligations to a personal God, by a sublimation of nonsense, it will not be unprofitable to trace the same process as it has gone on elsewhere, especially at head quarters, and where it was first elaborated. The power of a falsehood to do mischief, often consists in the fact, that it is supposed to be original. Such an idea alarms the weak defender of truth, and it constitutes the fascination by which the unstable and unthinking are led astray and entangled. And if we can show that such falsehood is nothing more than the natural progeny of a bad heart, or a weak brain, or both combined, born and strangled in every previous century of the world's existence, we have gone very far toward its refutation, even though nothing in the way of direct argument, be offered against it. Father Huc gives some quite interesting details, in his account of the Buddhists, with whom he was brought in contact, which may be profitably employed in the manner just indicated. In the course of his journey he spent several months at a Lama convent, visited Lha Ssa, the Mecca of Lamanism, and records conversations held by him with some of its most intelligent advocates. The reader will be as much surprised, perhaps, as was this good priest, at the marvellous resemblance between the monastic institutions of Buddhism and those of Romanism; between the position of the Talé Lama of Lha Ssa, the highest living development and representative manifestation of Buddha, the eternal essence, and of him who has blasphemously been styled "our Lord God the Pope," "the man of sin, who as God, sitteth in the

temple of God, showing himself that he is God." But he will be no less surprised, to find a pantheistic philosophy underlying all this, which looks very much, in its principles, like the shallow profundities of modern transcendentalism. And if he will accept the natural inference, he must either cease to think and speak, as is usually done, of the Buddhists as drivellers, or, of their disciples in Germany and New England, as profound philosophers. Still more interesting, as we conceive, is the problem which seems so much to have perplexed our author: the resemblances between the institutions of Lamanism and those of his own church. Some of these are most remarkable. And M. Huc bases upon existing traditions, a strong argument to show that they have been derived from the teaching of earlier Romish missionaries. This argument conflicts with a very common impression that all Asiatic institutions find their origin in the depths of an unfathomable antiquity: a prejudice of ignorance which a clearer knowledge of those countries will ere long dispel. That the pantheistic Buddhism, which is now one of the constituents of the conglomerate of Lamanism, is extremely ancient, there can be little doubt. But that the other parts of this conglomerate, are of the same antiquity, that, for instance, of the incarnate Buddha in the person of the Grand Lama, and those of the monastic institutions, is, to say the least, extremely doubtful. We cannot here go into the subject fully. But we are persuaded that an investigation of the relation of christianity to Buddhism, will develop one of the most remarkable instances of error bringing forth fruit after its kind, that has ever been manifested. Gnosticism, which in some of its forms, may be traced through the Greeks, to India and China, with its fundamental error of guilt and innocence as dependent altogether upon the presence or absence of physical impurity, deposited the germ of pure Buddhism, so to speak, in the christian church, at a very early period. How it flourished, and what it brought forth, no student of ecclesiastical history needs to be told. In the course of time these developments of christianized Buddhism, such, for instance, as that of the monastic institute, of a mediating priesthood, were taken back, by Romish missionaries to their fountain-head. And through the operation of elective affinity, were wrought into modern Lamanism. In this conglomerate, two elements are commingled in more equal proportions than they had been under any other circumstances. The pure original pantheistic Buddhism, by itself, would probably have never developed as much religious

life as we now find among the Lamas. At the same time, that portion of it which had crept in, as a corrupting element of early christianity, was always kept in check by other christian truth; did not, under these circumstances, go further than where we find it in the ninth and tenth centuries. They needed to be brought together again, as they seem to have been by the Romish missionaries, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to produce the result which is now seen. If the author of a certain work on "the incarnation," which is gradually sinking back into that ocean of mud from which its contents were originally fished out, would or could give us the genesis of some of his ideas, it would throw no small amount of light upon what we have just stated. This writer has the bad pre-eminence of doing exactly what these early Romish missionaries did, but in an opposite direction. They attempted to christianize pantheism. The effect of his labors, if such logic and grammar be capable of producing any effect, will be to pantheize christianity. His conversion to, or rather open profession of Romanism, since his book came out, will not at all lessen such tendencies, in his own experience.

But we must return to the narrative. In the spring of 1844 the author, and his companions, were summoned to Si Wang, a little village north of the great wall, where was a christian community, and the seat of the Vicar Apostolic, for the purpose of making preparation, and of receiving instructions as to their journey and mode of proceeding. Here they were detained, through various causes, until near the close of the summer: their time, however, being well employed in finishing and translating some little books of doctrine and devotion for the use of the Mongols. As the autumn drew on, it was determined to make a movement forward, so as to avoid, as far as possible, the severity of winter in the deserts of Tartary. After another detention in a district called the "continuous gorges," they were at last enabled to begin their journey in good earnest. "When all was ready, we took a cup of tea, and repaired to the chapel; the christians sang hymns and mingled their adieus with tears, and then we set out; our camel driver, mounted on a black mule, leading the way, and drawing after him our two loaded camels. M. Gabet following, mounted on another; and I on a white horse, with a guard of honor of Chinese christians, who were to accompany us as far as an inn kept by one of the catechists." Having fairly gotten under way, the question as to costume presented itself for solution. It was settled by their adoption of the ordinary dress of the Buddhist priests, or Lamas of Thibet, by

which they would at once be recognized as teachers of religion. "The missionaries who reside in China," says Father Huc, "all wear the dress of the Chinese merchants, and have nothing in their costume to mark their religious character." This custom, it appears to us, has been, in some measure, an obstacle to the success of their missions. For among the Tartars, a "*black man*," that is, a secular person, who undertakes to speak of religion, excites only contempt. Religion they regard as an affair belonging exclusively to the Lamas. We resolved, therefore, to adopt the costume worn on ordinary occasions by the Lamas of Thibet; namely, a long yellow robe, fastened by a red girdle, and fine gilt buttons, with a violet velvet collar, and a yellow cap surmounted by a red rosette. We also thought it expedient, from this time, to give up the use of wine and tobacco, and when the host brought us a smoking urn full of the hot wine, so much in favor among the Chinese, we signified to him that we were about to change our modes of life, as well as our dress. "You know," we added laughing, "that good Lamas abstain from smoking and drinking." How far it was proper, or in the end will be expedient, for a christian teacher to assume the peculiar dress of the priesthood of a false religion, and to become thereby, to some degree, identified with that priesthood and religion, is a delicate question, which does not seem, just here, to have suggested itself, though under another form it did afterwards, to our travellers. As a matter of present expediency, the plan seems to have wrought admirably. Wherever they went the dress was known; and they were always accosted as spiritual Fathers. No attempt, in the way of disguise as to their christian position, seems to have been employed. In the deserts, among the ignorant laity, in the convents among the priesthood, and even in the capital of Thibet, we find them avowing themselves ministers of the Lord Jehovah. That their priestly costume, and the slight character of their instructions gave the impression, in a large majority of cases, that christianity was a modified form of Lamanism, we have but little doubt. But it is remarkable, even where they were most clearly understood, with how little excitement and opposition they were treated. "Men of prayer," said a couple of Mongol Tartars, in distress, "we come to beg you to draw a horoscope. Two horses have been stolen from us to-day, and we have vainly sought to discover the thieves. O men, whose power and knowledge are without bounds, teach us how we may find them."

"My brethren," we replied, "we are not Lamas of Buddha; we do not believe in horoscopes; to pretend to such knowledge is false and deceitful." The poor Tartars redoubled their solicitations; but when they saw that our resolution could not be shaken, they remounted their horses and returned to the mountains."

"When," says he again, "we explained to the Lamas the truths of christianity, they never disputed or discussed them, but said calmly, we have not all those prayers, but the Lamas of the West will explain all. We have faith in the traditions of the West."

"My Lord Lamas," said a Tartar on another occasion, have pity on me! come and cure my mother who is dying; I know that your power is infinite; come and save my mother with your prayers."

"People of the desert," we said to the persons who summoned us, "we have no skill in simples; we know not how to count upon the arteries the movements of life. But we will pray to Jehovah for this sick woman. You have never yet heard of the Almighty God; your Lamas do not know him; but trust in him. Jehovah is the master of life and death."

These avowals, and several others of the same character, the reader will see, are frank and plain. But when he is told how even the Lamas themselves received such explanations, we think he will agree with us in the opinion just expressed.

As a specimen of the Mongol converts, Father Huc gives a rather amusing portrait of his travelling companion. "This young man," says he, "was neither a Chinese, a Tartar, nor a Thibetian, but a little of all three—a Dchiahour." "At the first glance, it was easy to perceive his Mongol origin; he had a deeply bronzed complexion—a great mouth, cut in a straight line—and a large nose insolently turned up, that gave to his whole physiognomy a disdainful aspect. When he looked at you with his little eyes twinkling between lids entirely without eyelashes, and with the skin of his forehead wrinkled up, the feeling he inspired was something between confidence and fear. His life had been spent in rather a vagabond manner, in rambling, sometimes about the Chinese towns, and sometimes in the deserts of Tartary; for he had run away at the age of eleven, from a Lama college, to escape the excessive corrections of his master. This mode of life had, of course, not tended much to polish the natural asperity of his character, and his intelligence was entirely uncultivated; but his muscular strength was immense, and he was not a little proud of it. After having been instructed by M. Gabet, he had wished

to attach himself to the service of the missionaries, and the journey we were about to undertake was precisely in harmony with his rambling humor; but he was of no use in directing our course, for he knew no more of the country than we did ourselves."

Samdadchiemba, for that was his name, did good service, however, in a menial capacity, although at times very perverse and unmanageable. His behavior at Lha Ssa, before the Chinese commissioner, leaves a more favorable impression than his antecedents would have led us to anticipate.

As the author does not give us a daily record of his movements, and often weaves in, the result of past and subsequent experiences, at certain points of the narrative, it becomes somewhat difficult to follow, exactly, his movements. This difficulty is doubtless increased by the fact that, the special object for which he sought information, was not of that general character which would lead him to lay the whole of this information before the public. Had we the report made to the Apostolic Vicar, our knowledge as to these movements would, no doubt, have been much more exact and satisfactory. This difficulty, moreover, has been greatly increased by another cause, the defectiveness of all the maps, with which we are conversant, as to the region passed over. Father Huc speaks of himself as possessing maps of an excellent character. But the readers of our country have certainly not received the benefit of any such. We have looked in vain, not only for towns and villages, but for immense districts and long mountain ranges, in one of the latest and finest collections given to the American public. Had there been a map attached to the work, it would have greatly increased its value. The same remark may be made in regard to those portions of it omitted by the English translator, containing certain statistics, and the journal of their return from Thibet. If the American publishers feel justified in sending forth a second edition, in more permanent form, might not such additions be profitably made. It is not half as provoking to the general reader, to skip occasionally, as it is for the philosophical one to be cut short by an omission just where he seeks definite information. We believe too, that all classes of intelligent readers like to make their own selections.

During the first two months of this exploration, our party kept themselves within the Mongol country. Leaving the neighborhood of Peking, and travelling northwardly, they crossed the Yellow river, and sojourned for some time among the Ortoos Tartars. Here they were turned aside, by an acci-

dent, from a scheme which they had proposed carrying out, of visiting one of the great ceremonies of Lamanism, and called upon to choose their route between a very poor and desolate portion of the Tartar country, or partly to turn back and venture through the Chinese territory. The latter was decided upon. One or two interesting details, as to this first portion of the journey, may be briefly noticed.

The journey had hardly begun, before our travellers were greatly alarmed at the prospect of meeting with robbers. "Woe to the man," says Father Huc, "who falls into their hands, for they do not content themselves with taking away his money and his goods, but strip him, and leave him to perish with cold and hunger." These "robbers are, in general, remarkable for the politeness with which they flavor their address. They do not put a pistol to your head, and cry roughly, your money or your life! but they say, in the most courteous tone, "my eldest brother I am weary of walking on foot. Be so good as to lend me your horse." Or, "I am without money, will you not lend me your purse?" or, "it is very cold to-day, be kind enough to lend me your coat." If the eldest brother be charitable enough to comply, he receives thanks; if not, the request is enforced by two or three blows of the cudgel, or if that is not sufficient, recourse is had to the sabre."

Passing unscathed through the range of these courteous depredators, the travellers arrived at the town of Tolon Noor. Here we have quite an amusing account of the hostelry, with its arrangements. One of the customs we subjoin: "*The steward of the table asks for your orders,*" prior to a meal, "and as you name the dishes, he repeats what you say, aloud, in a sort of singing voice, for the instruction of *the Governor of the kettle*. The meal is served with admirable promptitude; but before commencing, etiquette requires you to go round and invite all the guests in the room to join you."

"Come! come all together;" you cry. "Come and drink a little glass of wine—eat a little rice."

"Thank you, thank you," responds the company; "come rather and seat yourself at our table; it is we who invite you," and having, in the phrase of the country, *shown your honor*, you may sit down and take your meal like a man of quality."

While upon this point of the etiquette of the table, we may quote another extract, giving an account of a feast in a Tartar tent, in which our travellers were considerably embarrassed by the kindness of their entertainers.

"Holy men," said the head of the family, "the day on which you have deigned to descend into our poor habitation,

is truly a day of rejoicing." "Child," he added, speaking to a man who was seated near the threshold, "if the mutton is sufficiently boiled, take away the milk food." And while the person addressed cleared away the first course, the eldest son of the family entered, bearing a small oblong table, on which was placed an entire sheep, cut into four quarters. He placed the table in the midst of the circle, and immediately the head of the family, arming himself with the knife that was suspended at his girdle, cut off the tail of the sheep, divided it into two parts, and offered one to each of us."

"Amongst the Tartars, the tail is regarded as the most exquisite piece, and is, of course, offered to the most honored guests. These tails of the Tartar sheep are of immense size, weighing, with the fat that surrounds them, from six to eight pounds. Great was our embarrassment at the distinction shown us in the presentation of this mass of white fat, which seemed to tremble and pulitate under our fingers. The rest of the guests were already despatching with marvellous celerity, their portions of the mutton; of course, without plate or fork, but each with the large piece of fat meat on his knees, working away at it with his knife, and wiping on the front of his waistcoat, the fat that dripped down his fingers. We consulted with each other in our native language, as to what we should do with the dreadful dainty before us. It would have been quite contrary to Tartar etiquette, to speak frankly to our host, and explain our repugnance to it, and it seemed imprudent to attempt to put it back by stealth. We determined, therefore, to cut the unlucky tail into small slices, and offer them round to the company, begging them to share with us this rare and delicious morsel. We did so, but it was not without difficulty we overcame the polite scruples and self-denying refusals with which our hypocritical courtesy was met." We have heard of one of the Judges of our Supreme Court, who disposed of a spoiled egg in the natural way, to save the feelings of his hostess. Had he travelled in Tartary, with our author, he might either have saved himself from such terrible self-infliction, or have put it off upon his next neighbor.

Our travellers had not gone very far, before they were reminded of the difference between the Tartar and Chinese character: the former being guileless and unsuspecting, the latter keen at a bargain, and unscrupulous. Father Huc gives a very amusing account of the attempts at imposition made upon his party, by the Chinese traders and sharpers. The sketch of the conversation in Blue Town, at the "Hotel of the Three Perfections," and of their adventure with the mon-

ey changers, is inimitable. No less illustrative of the same national character, is the conversation held by them with a trader, who styled himself an "eater of Tartars." The poor Mongols from "the land of grass," verdant in more senses than one, are an easy prey for their Chinese neighbors. "In the grand wrestling match of 1843, an athlete of Efe had disabled every opponent who presented himself, Tartar or Chinese. No one had been able to withstand his herculean size and vast strength; the prize was about to be adjudged to him, when a Chinese presented himself in the arena. He was little, meagre, and seemed fit for nothing but to increase the number of the defeated wrestlers. He advanced, however, with a firm, intrepid air, and the Goliath of Efe was already preparing to gripe him in his vigorous arms, when the Chinese, who had filled his mouth with water, suddenly discharged it full in his adversary's face. The first movement of the Tartar was, naturally, to carry his hand to his eyes, when the cunning Chinese seized him suddenly by the middle, and brought him to the ground, amid shouts of laughter from the spectators." The story, according to our author, very well illustrates the respective characteristics of the two people. There were some things, it must be remembered, in the prior experience of Father Huc, which would naturally tempt him to regard one of these people with disfavor, and the other with an opposite feeling. The Chinese had but lately broken up the missions of his church, and, as we find from his subsequent narrative, thwarted him in his efforts in Thibet. The Tartars, on the other hand, had given a home to these scattered members of the mission, and had treated their priests with hospitality. But we find an occasional hint which enables us to see that the essential barbarism of the Mongol is still unchanged. "After the Mongols had subdued the northern provinces of China," says Gibbon, "it was seriously proposed, not in the hour of victory and passion, but in calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cattle. The firmness of a Chinese Mandarin, who, by showing what revenue might be derived from the country, as it then was, insinuated some principles of national policy in the mind of Zingis, and diverted him from the execution of this horrid design."¹

¹ In the thirty-fourth, fifty-ninth, and sixtieth chapter of the "decline and fall," the reader will see these characteristics of the Mongols more fully described. The untutored barbarian, unprovoked is, perhaps, a harmless being. But let him be roused by war or conquest, and his barbarism soon manifests itself, and in the most brutal and hideous forms.

The same sort of feeling is exhibited by Father Huc, as still prevalent among the Tartars. Every acre reclaimed from pasturage to agriculture, is regarded as so much lost to human happiness; and strange to say, our author, in his dislike for the Chinese, and his sympathy with the Tartars, falls in with the same prejudice.

In connection with this is the interesting fact, that although a Tartar dynasty occupies the throne of the empire by a former conquest, yet in reality the conquered have since become the conquerors. The English House of Commons, representing the Anglo Saxon Element, now predominate, in influence, over the Lords, the descendants of the Norman conquerors. This reconquest of their own country by a conquered people, has gone much further, according to our author, in China than in England; the state of things being, in fact, now like that which prevailed in Spain during the first two-thirds of the fifteenth century. "Let a single revolution," says he, "overturn the present dynasty, and the Mantchoos would be completely absorbed by the Chinese. The very entrance into their own country would be prohibited to them, for it would be entirely occupied." "You know, my Lord Lamas," said a Tartar, "that the Mongols are simple; they have weak hearts. We had pity on these wicked Chinese; they came to us imploring alms; we allowed them, out of compassion, to cultivate a little ground, and the Mongols followed their example. They drank the Chinese wine, and smoked their tobacco; on credit they bought their cloth; and then, when the time came for settling their accounts, all was charged forty or fifty per cent more than its real value. Then the Mongols were forced to leave all—houses, lands, and flocks. Chinese know how to speak and lie; a Mongol can never gain a law suit from a Chinese. My Lord Lamas, all is lost for the kingdom of Gechekten."

After travelling for two months or more in these regions, as we have already mentioned, it was determined to change their course and, by a shorter passage through a part of China proper, to fulfil their design of a visit to the capital and holy city of Thibet. In all their intercourse with the Lamas whom they met in Mongolia, they were constantly referred to the West for further information. To obtain this information, and to trace out the causes of certain resemblances between Lamaism and Romish christianity, was the special object of this journey. "Formerly," says the author, "such a project," as that of passing through Chinese territory, "would have made

us shudder. It would have been to us, clear as the day, that strangling for ourselves, and the persecution of all the Chinese missions, would have been the inevitable consequences of so foolhardy an attempt. But the season of fear was now passed for us. Our abode in several great towns—the necessity we had been under of transacting our own business—had rendered us more familiar with the habits and usages of the Chinese. The language was no longer an embarrassment. We could speak the Tartar language, and were acquainted with the popular Chinese phrases; a knowledge difficult to acquire while resident in the missions, because the converts, out of flattery to the missionaries, study to employ only the brief nomenclature that the latter have learned in books. In addition to these moral and intellectual advantages, our long journey had been of service to us physically. The rain, wind and sun, had, in the course of two months, so tanned and hardened our European complexions, that our aspect had become very tolerably savage; and the fear of being recognized by the Chinese, no longer affected us.”

The result justified this boldness. Not only were they allowed to pass unmolested and unquestioned, but were treated with respect wherever they sojourned. In more than one instance, by insisting upon the rights of travellers, and refusing to yield in points of etiquette, they succeeded in obtaining a triumph, even over those terrible Chinese officials whom formerly they so much dreaded. Having marked out their journey to Lha Ssa, their object was to join one of the caravans, with which they might pass the defiles of the mountains lying in their route. Failing in their first efforts, they spent some time in preparation, dwelling first for a short time, in two of the Chinese towns, and then at a famous Lamaserai or monastery, containing several thousand monks or Lamas. Arrangements were finally made, by which they secured the protection of a large caravan bound to Thibet, where, after a toilsome journey of nine months, they arrived in safety. The sun was just about to set when, issuing from a defile at the foot of the mountains, we saw lying before us, the renowned Lha Ssa, the metropolis of the Buddhist world, encircled by a multitude of grand old trees, which form, with their foliage, a girdle around it; its white walls with their terraces and turrets; its numerous temples with their gilded roofs; and high above all, the majestic palace of the Talé Lama.”

The general aspect of the holy city is thus presented. It will thus be seen that Lha Ssa, like all points of pilgrimage, is only of peculiar sacredness to persons from a distance.

"Lha Ssa is not more than two leagues in circumference, and is not shut within ramparts, like Chinese towns. In the suburbs, the number of gardens planted with large trees, affords a magnificent girdle of verdure to the town. The principal streets are wide, straight, and tolerably clean; the suburbs are most disgustingly filthy. In the latter there is a quarter where the houses are entirely built of ox and ram's horns; these bizarre edifices have a not unpleasant aspect, and are of great solidity. The ox horns being smooth and white, and those of the sheep rough and black, form a multitude of singular combinations; the interstices are filled up with mortar, these houses are never whitened—the Thibetians have the good taste to leave them in their savage and fantastic beauty, without attempting to improve them."

"The palace of the Talé Lama well deserves the celebrity it enjoys. Towards the northern part of the town, at a small distance from it, there rises a rocky mountain, at no great elevation, and conical in form; Bearing the name of Buddha La, that is, the diving mountain, and on this grand site the adorers of the Talé Buddha have reared a palace to their living and incarnate divinity. This palace consists of a cluster of temples, varying in size and beauty; the centre temple has an elevation of four stories; the dome is entirely covered with plates of gold, and is surrounded by a peristyle, of which the columns are likewise gilded. Here the Talé Lama has fixed his residence, and from the height of his sanctuary can contemplate, on days of high solemnity, his countless worshippers thronging the plain, and prostrating themselves at the base of the sacred mountain. The secondary palaces grouped around, accomodate a crowd of Lamas, whose continued occupation it is to serve and wait on the living Buddha. Two fine avenues bordered with magnificent trees, lead from Lha Ssa to this temple, and there may be seen a multitude of pilgrims unrolling between their fingers the long Buddhist rosaries, and the Lamas of the court splendidly dressed, and mounted on horses richly caparisoned. There is continual motion in the vicinity of the Buddha La, but the multitude is generally silent and serious.

In the town, the aspect of the population is very different; they throng, they shout, and every individual engages with ardor in the pursuit of commerce. Trade and devotion together, render Lha Ssa a kind of general rendezvous for the eastern Asiatics; the variety of physiognomies, costumes, and idioms in the streets, is astonishing. The fixed population is composed of Thibetians, Pebouns, Katchis, and Chinese."

Upon their arrival, our travellers succeeded, after some trouble, in getting accommodations. Finding that there was some danger of their being taken for Englishmen, and consequently of sharing their unpopularity—there being great fear and suspicion in regard to the English, since the war of 1842, and in view of the proximity of their possessions in Hindostan, they had themselves registered by the chief of the police, and, for some days, were allowed to go on their way undisturbed. Suspicion, however, having been excited that they were spies, and acting as pioneers to an invasion, either by obtaining information, or by drawing up maps of the country, they were summoned before the Regent, and the Chinese Commissioner, for examination. This having ended satisfactorily, they were released, and taken, as it were, under the patronage of the Regent. At his invitation, their place of abode was changed, a private chapel opened for religious services, and for a time, Providence seemed to smile upon all their undertakings.

During this time Father Huc seems to have gathered no small amount of information, in regard to the people among whom he was sojourning. He gives us an account of some of the arrangements of the Buddhist administration, and of the intrigues and agency of the Chinese in suppressing a recent revolution. His sketches of the population of the city, and manners and customs of the inhabitants, are interesting. One custom, of a very peculiar character, is thus described: "The Thibetan women adopt a custom, or rather submit to a regulation, certainly unique in the world. Before going out of their houses, they rub their faces with a black sticky varnish, a good deal like conserve of grapes. As the object is to render themselves hideous, they daub their faces with this disgusting cosmetic, till they scarcely resemble human creatures. The following was, we were told, the origin of this monstrous practice:"

"About two hundred years ago, the Lama king of anterior Thibet was a man of the austere character. At that period, the Thibetan women were not more in the habit of trying to make themselves look ugly, than the women of other countries; on the contrary, they were extravagantly addicted to dress and luxury. By degrees the contagion spread, even to the holy families of the Lamas; and the Buddhist converts relaxed their discipline in a manner that threatened their dissolution. In order to arrest the progress of this alarming libertinism, the king published an edict forbidding women to appear in public unless disfigured in the fashion above mentioned; the severest punishments, and the heaviest displeasure of

Buddha, were threatened upon the refractory. It must have required no ordinary courage to publish such an edict; but that the women obeyed it, is still more extraordinary. Tradition makes no mention of the slightest revolt on their part. The fair Thibetans vie with each other in making themselves frightful, and she who is most offensively besmeared, passes for the most pious; the custom appears to be considered as a dogma to be accepted. In the country the law is most rigorously observed; but at Lha Ssa women are to be met with, who venture to appear with their faces as nature made them, but those who permit themselves this license are considered as women of bad reputation, and they never fail to hide themselves when they catch sight of an agent of the police."

What would have been the result had such expedient been adopted by some one of the Byzantine Emperors, when the same corruption, and from the same cause, found its way among the christian celibates of the fifth and sixth century? The question is suggestive of many startling reflections as to the invariable origin and results of the celibate institute. What a history, if any man could dare write it, would be that of this institute, in its terrible pressure upon one class, the conscientious, in its provocations, to another class, the weak and unscrupulous, to the most frightful excesses.

Our article has so far outgrown its intended limits, that we must bring it to a close. It would have been interesting to trace this resemblance between Romanism and Lamanism, to which we have alluded, the question as to how far they have at different times, borrowed from each other. No less interesting would it have been, to have followed the author, in his account of that terrible journey through the mountains: an overland route with which, in comparison, that to Oregon and California is a party of pleasure; to have extracted portions of the accounts of his stay at the Lama monasteries, with some of their festivals, as also of his sojourn at the capital. Suffice it to say, that the prospects of his party were overclouded by the machinations of the Chinese commissioner; and that they were compelled to return homeward. We have accompanied them throughout with unabated interest. And while we could have desired that the establishment of a purer christianity should have been the object of their endeavors, we could not but admire the lessons of fortitude and perseverance which their labors have inculcated. It is no wonder that Romanism has gained such missionary triumphs, when we know the earnest and self-denying spirit of her laborers. We have no idea of asserting that the same lessons are not to be found in the

efforts of protestant missionaries; for to praise one, is not to depreciate the other. But we rejoice to find, even among the propagators of Romish error, so much of the spirit of genuine christianity. "When," says the author on a certain occasion, "we had set our room to rights, we said our prayers together; and then we dispersed, every one his own way into the desert, to pursue his meditations on some holy theme. Oh! there needed not, in the profound silence of these vast solitudes, a book to suggest to us a subject of prayer! The emptiness of earthly things—the majesty of God—the inexhaustible treasures of his providence—the brevity of life—the importance of laboring for a world to come—and a thousand other salutary thoughts, came of themselves, without effort on our part. It is in the desert that the heart of man is free, and is not subjected to any kind of tyranny. Far from us were the hollow systems, the Utopias of imaginary happiness, which continually vanish as you seem to grasp them—the inexhaustible combinations of selfishness—the burning passions which in Europe clash and irritate each other perpetually. In the midst of our silent meadows, nothing disturbed our just appreciation of the things of this world, as compared with those of eternity." We envy neither the head nor the heart which can read this passage without sympathy; who does not recognize the essential difference there manifested between that sight which guides the worldling, and that faith which even here realizes things unchanging and eternal.

And this suggests an interesting question, which time, under the all controlling and wise providence of God, only can solve. What purpose will the extensive missionary districts of Romanism be made to subserve in the evangelization of the world? As an ecclesiastical spiritual organism, Romanism is dead, and putrid at the heart and head. And all hope of organic revival, we believe to be utterly futile. But is there not individual life in some of its extremities? life drawn not from the dead centre to which they are outwardly united, but from the living gospel which ought to animate that centre. Omniscient wisdom, which attains a variety of ends, through the use of a single means, may make use of every such instance, for the final advancement of the kingdom of righteousness. The spirit of this Romish priest, on more occasions than one, in the course of his narrative, has suggested this problem to our mind. "We passed the night," says the author, while describing their first sojourn in a Lama convent," in forming plans, and as soon as day dawned, we were on foot. All was still profoundly silent, while we made our morning prayer, not

without a sensation of joy and pride that we had been permitted thus to invoke the true God in this famous Lamaserai, consecrated to an impious and lying worship. It seemed to us as if we were about to conquer the vast realms of Buddhism to the faith of Jesus Christ."

That the process will be longer, and much more laborious, than the author anticipated, and that it will be accomplished in a different mode from that which has been adopted by himself, and his associates, there can be little doubt. But we have good reason for hope that in the final result of human evangelization, all earnest labor for Christ will count; and that all truth put forth in his name, and for the advancement of his kingdom, will bring forth its appropriate harvest.

ARTICLE III.

THE MARRIAGES OF THE SONS OF GOD WITH THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN.

An exegetical investigation on Gen. 6 : 1—4. By Prof. Dr. C. F. Keil. From the second number of Rudelbach and Guerike's Zeitschrift for 1855.

To undertake a new examination of the section Gen. 6 : 1—4, which treats of the corruption of the old world, which succeeded the judgment of the deluge, might be considered unnecessary and questionable, as eminent biblical critics assert, that Hofmann in his "Weissagung und Erfüllung," and in his "Schriftbeweis," has brought to a close the exegetical and dogmatical historical questions pertaining to it,¹ and R. Stier pronounces the opposing view of Hävernick "absurd."²

Nevertheless, as human knowledge and investigation are imperfect in this world, we will, with all due respect to the judgment of our friend Delitzsch, and those who agree with him, take the liberty of re-examining what is ascertained anew, neither influenced by assurances, nor the threat that we will be ranked with the ignorant. By additional investigation the truth will be advanced, even if our conviction, resulting from a closer examination of the various views, that the recent critics have not closely examined the passage, or firmly estab-

¹ Delitzsch, die Genesis ausgel. 2. Ausg. I. S. 227.

² Der Brief Judä, des Bruders des Herrn. Berlin 1850. S. 43. Note 2.

lished positively and negatively their interpretations should not be tenable. We will first present the history of the interpretation, and then attempt to establish that interpretation which we approve, and refute the opposite.

1. The comprehension of Genesis 6: 1—4, depends on the explanation of בני האלהים (sons of God) by whose marriages with the daughters of men (בנות האדם) the corruption of man progressed so far, that God brought the flood upon the earth. Reviewing the history of the interpretation of the paragraph, we find three explanations of the phrase, in which the exegetical conceptions of orthodox Judaism, and of Cabbalistic and heathenizing Judaism, and the christian church appear.

1. The orthodox Judaism, which is opposed to everything heathen, draws all its knowledge and wisdom from the original documents of the Old Testament, understands by these terms filios magnatum, Fürstensöhne (sons of princes) and filias plebejas (daughters of the common people) according to the analogy of Ps. 82: 6, where the government is called אלהים (Gods) בני עליון (sons of the Most High) and Ps. 49: 3, &c., where אדם in opposition to אלהים means persons of inferior condition. Thus Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan: בני הרבנות, Aquila, whose υἱοὶ τῶν δεσπῶν designates not sons of God or angels, but sons of the chiefs or rulers of this world, for we cannot ascribe to this rigid Jew the heathen idea of sons of God.¹ Symmachus (οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστεύοντων), the Samaritan version (filii dominorum) the Arabian of Saadias Gaon, the Arabic of Eepenias, Aben Ezra, Raschi,² &c., so that this may be considered as the constant exegetical tradition of the Jewish scientific schools in Palestine and Babylon, along with which Abarbanel³ first presented the view which prevailed in the christian church—of the descendants of Seth and the Cainites, whose sons were so called on account of his piety, justice and faith, *cujus filii sic (i. e. filii Dei) vocantur propter ipsius pietatem, justitiam et fidem.* This Jewish explanation was not accepted by christian divines, with the exception of Molina, Mercerus, and Varenius.

¹ Although Jerome so understood him: *Aquila plurali numero filios Deorum ausus est dicere: Deos intelligens angelos sive sanctos.* Comp. Z. Frankel über d. Einfluss der paläst. Exegese auf d. alex. Hermeneutik. Lpz. 1851. S. 25, who refers to Bereschit rabba c. 26, where the most decided disapprobation is expressed against those who interpret these terms literally, that is, understand them of angels.

² Raschi ad Gen. 6: 2, filii principum et judicum, maintaining that אלהים in S. scriptura significationem habet dominatus (s. potestatis) idque probat Exod. 4: 16, tu eris ei לְאֹהֲנִים, item: ecce dedi te לְאֹהֲנִים Exod. 7: 1 (ed. Breith.)

³ S. Buxtorf de sponsal. et divorc. p. 41.

2. Along with this rabbinic interpretation, we early meet with the opinion that it means angels, who indulged in unnatural lust with the daughters of men. It has been thought that a trace of this explanation may be found in the Alex. version, inasmuch as Cod. Alex. and three more recent Codd. of the 70 in v. 2, have for this phrase ἀγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ. But as in v. 4 all the Cod. have, without exception, υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, and this expression is in verse 2, in the Cod. Vatic. and all the other Cod., except the one mentioned, that various reading cannot be considered the original, but must have been introduced at a later period into the 70, and the Interpolators forgot to introduce the change into the 4th v. In view of the great diffusion of the tradition concerning angels, the opposite theory is very doubtful.¹ Further there is no trace of this view of the narrative in the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, although the ἀρχαίοι γίγαντες are mentioned in Sir. 16: 7. Wisd. 14: 6. 3 Macc. 2: 4, as permanent examples of the divine justice. On the other hand, in the book of Enoch, it appears completely formed.² Chap. 6, we read: "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose."³

With this, the narrative further relates how two hundred angels, with their eighteen leaders, mentioned by name, bound themselves by oath and imprecations, in opposition to their chief, Semjaza, to commit this sin, and took wives and begat with them giants three thousand (another reading three hundred) ells in length, who swallowed up human productions,

¹ A confirmation of υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ as the original reading may perhaps be found in the translation of 6: 3; οὐ μὴ καταμείνῃ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κτλ. This τούτοις, for which there is nothing in the Heb. text, and which Onkelos has too, the translator may have added, to explain the phrase as not meaning angels. See Frankel loc. cit. p. 47.

² Das Buch Henoch. (From the Ethiopian) translated and explained by A. Dillmann. Lpz. 1853.

³ The original: Und es geschach nachdem die Menschen sich gemehret hatten in jenen Tagen, wurden ihnen schöne und feine Töchter geboren, und die Engel, die Söhne der Himmel (nach dem griechischen Texte: die Wächter*) sahen sie und gelüsteten nach ihnen und Sprachen untereinander: wöhlan wir wolien uns Weiber auswählen unter den Menschen Kindern und uns Kinder zeugen.

* In the fragments of Syncellus, found in Dillman loc. cit. p. 82, and elsewhere, the Seducers are called οἱ ἐγγήγοροι.

then human beings, and finally the beasts of the earth, and in addition, taught men to make swords, knives, shields, coats of mail, and all sorts of ornaments and sorceries, by which ungodliness and fornication greatly increased. But when the cry of complaint from the earth, on account of the unrighteous, reached the gates of heaven, the Most High sent an angel to Lamech, to reveal to him the flood, and by other angels he enchained in darkness the apostate Watchers, reserved till the day of judgment, &c. According to the investigations of Dillman, the passage cited belongs to the historical additions with which the book of Enoch was enriched 110 A. C. shortly after its appearance.

The fall of the angels, as the occasion of the introduction of sinful corruption amongst the race of Shem, and as the mediate cause of the first condemnation of the world, is often mentioned in the original treatise (C. 19. 21, 10. 54, 3—6. 55, 3. 4. C. 64. 84, 4. 86, 1—6. 88, 1—3. 89, 6. 90, 21. 24), and a pretty fully developed doctrine on the course of this fall, its results and the destiny of these fallen angels is partly assumed in it, and partly mentioned explicitly. Here already is the Azazel, known from Lev. 10, as one of the chief and most destructive of these fallen angels, mentioned, the seduction of human beings to uncleanness, to the worship of demons, and other sins is ascribed to them, the murder of men by their progeny the giants; the precursory imprisonment of the fallen angels in the earth, by the archangels, and the mutual destruction of the giants are assumed.” (Dillmann loc. cit. p. 34.) In the three divisions of the book of Enoch, we find the tradition concerning the fallen angels so completely formed, that no important particular is afterwards supplied. True, Dillmann thinks, p. 42, this tradition received in subsequent times, peculiar modifications. According to the book of Jubilæen,¹ the Watchers in the days of Jared descended to earth, sent by God, to teach men right and righteousness; they were untrue to their work, and tempted by the beauty of the virgins, cohabited with them. But the time specified, the days of Jared, which is wanting in the Ethiopian translation, is found in the Greek book Enoch, according to the explicit testimony of Origen and Epiphanius,² and the extracts in Syn-

¹ I. E. The so called *ἡγερέσις*. Translated from the Ethiopian by A. Dillman in Ewald's *Jahrbuch der bibl. Wissenschaft*. B. 2 & 3. Comp. 2, p. 242.

² Origen. Comment. in Joann. tom. 8. p. 132 ed. Huet.—Epiphanius. *adv. haeres.* 1, 4. T. 1, p. 4. ed. Petav. Comp. A. G. Hoffmann the b. Enoch 1, p. 103, and Dillman, the book Enoch, p. 92, f.

cellus. The other new office, that these angels, in accordance with God's will should teach men the right and righteousness, resulted quite naturally from this, that they were watchers of heaven, according to chap. 12: 4, and the daughters of men, when they came together, used all kinds of magic (c. 7.) - If they did this after their apostacy, the conclusion was obvious, that they were to teach by God's appointment the just and right. This legend was widely spread by the book of Enoch, which soon after its appearance attained much repute, and was so widely diffused in the christian church, that many church fathers mention it, and Tertullian proposes its reception as one of the canonical books.¹

Josephus and Philo are acquainted with them, and derived them, beyond doubt, directly or indirectly from the book of Enoch, although they do not give their authority. Josephus writes, *Antiq.* I, 3, 1: "for many angels of God, cohabiting with women, begat children who were contemptuous, and in consequence of self-reliance, contemners of what is good. It is reported that they indulged in deeds like to the daring ones of the Grecian giants." Philo (*de Gigant.* p. 285) reads Gen. 6: 2 ἀγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ and explains, "that the invisible inhabitants of the air are here meant. For this element has its inhabitants, who are the more ethereal, as the air is the pabulum of everything earthly. Some of them descend into human bodies, and cannot be detached from them," &c. This legendary matter is most used by the church fathers, following the epistle of Jude, v. 6, in the conflict with Heathenism, partly for apologetic and polemic, and partly for paranetic purposes,

¹ Not only in the Test. of the twelve patriarchs is it frequently mentioned and used (Comp. Fabricius *Cod. pseudepigr.* V. T. I. p. 161 sqq. and Hoffmann, *B. Hen.* II. p. 912 fs.), but likewise by Tertullian. *de cult. fem.* I, 3, Origenes c. Cels. V. *Homil.* 28 in Num. 34, de princip. I, 3, Hilarius in Psalm 122: 3, Hieronym in Tit. I, 3, *Catal. script. eccl.* c. 4 and Augustin. *de civit. Dei* XV, 23, it is mentioned by name, whilst Iren, Athenag., Jost. Mart., Clem. Al. and Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicia, in the Canon Paschal. in Euseb. *hist. eccl.* VII, 32, §. 8 are well acquainted with its contents and its legends. S. the passages in Fabric. I. c. I. p. 160 sqq. and Hoffmann II. p. 891.—Origen says, *hom.* 28 in Num. 34 (T. II. p. 384 de la Rue): Qui fecit multitudinem stellarum, ut ait propheta, omnibus eis nomina vocat. De quibus quidem nominibus plurima in libellis qui appellantur Enoch, secreta continentur et arcana. He expresses himself still more explicitly c. Cels. I. V. p. 267 ed. Spencer. Celsus, in his quotations from the book of Enoch, shows that he neither had read nor known *οτι εν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαῖς οὐ πάντῃ φέρεται ὡς θεία τὰ ἐπιγγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλία*. Then Hilar. I. c. refers to it as nescio cujus liber, and Hieron. II. cc. calls it Apocryphum Enoch. On the other hand, Tertull. not only calls Enoch a prophet, but regards the writing circulating under his name as inspired, although he is not ignorant, scripturam Enoch non recipi a quibusdam, quia nec in armarium judaicum admittitur. *De cultu foem.* I, 3.

to warn against incontinence, love of finery, and other heathen practices, and to threaten sinners of this stamp with the punishment of God. In this last reference the legend is applied in the Testam. 12 Patriarch. (Test. Ruben §. 5), then in Tertullian (de cult. foem. I, 2. II, 10; de virgin. vel. c. 7 comp. likewise de idolatr. c. 4) and in Cyprian (de discipl. et hab. mul. c. 11.) But the church fathers make more use of it to establish their view, that these fallen angels, together with the giants produced by the carnal intercourse of the angels with the daughters of men, are the demons and Gods of Heathenism, who have corrupted the human race by magic and all kinds of vice, and led them away to idolatry. Thus Athenagoras Suppl. pro. Christ. c. 24., Just. Mart. Apolog. I, 5. II, 5, Clemens Al. Strom. v. c. I. §. 10 and eclog. proph. p. 803 ed. Sylb., Tertullian Apolog. c. 22, Lactantius instit. divin. II. c. 14 and A.¹

This view is brought out very clearly in the Clementine Homilies Homil. 8, 9—19. ed. Dressel p. 186 fs. Here Peter unfolds fully the story of the angels, in a discourse on *Seonibēia* (worship) to his hearers, to confirm them in the salutary knowledge of God, and he shows them from the fall of the angels, whence all the evil and the wickedness of the world come, and how, by partaking in the sacrifices and feasts of idolaters, they come under the power of the demons whose origin was from the fire of angels and the blood of women, but by avoiding idolatry and everything forbidden e. g. the use of dead flesh, strangled and such like, and by obeying his (that is Peter's) law, escape eternal ruin. Although these church Fathers, in unhesitatingly receiving these stories of the b. of Enoch, as truth, endorse the explanation contained in them of Gen. 6: 1—4, only a few, such as Tertullian, de virgin. vel. c. 7. and Lactantius l. c. connect them with the scripture narrative. No one of them has specially applied himself to the elucidation of these passages, but Origen observes in tom. 8. in Joann. I. c. where he touches upon the narrative in Genesis of the descent of angels, that some consider this descent as allusive to the descent of souls, into bodies, as they suppose, the earthly dwelling is tropically called the daughters of men. When afterwards, in the third and fourth century, the church fathers attained to a clear and solid discrimination between the canonical and the apocryphal, and with the apocryphal origin of the book of Enoch, likewise perceived the want of authen-

¹ The completest collection of passages bearing on the subject, is found in Jac. Ode commentar. de Angelis. Traj. ad Rhen. 1755. p. 323 sqq. and M. F. Rampf, the epistle of Jude. Sulzb. 1854. p. 294 ff.

ticity in the pretended revelations or prophecies of Enoch, they abandoned the belief in angel marriages, and not only opposed this explanation of Gen. 6, but laid the foundation of another, the first traces of which may be followed back to the middle of the second century.

Further the orthodox and Talmudic Judaism never adopted this explanation, although the story of angels did not entirely escape the Rabbins. Pseudo Jonathan refers to it, when he remarks at Gen. 6 : 4, *Schamchasai et Azazel deciderunt de coelo et erant in terra diebus illis*. So too, Raschi, when in Gen. 6 : 2, he introduces another explanation (*alia explicatio*) of בני האלים : *iste erant השרים* (or according to Bibl. Buxt. השרים) *qui ibant in legationibus Dei*, and Numb. XIII, 34 remarks : *Nephilim fuerunt Gigantes de filiis Schamchasai et Azael qui de coelo deciderunt tempore generationis Enoschi* : We find this report too, in the later Jewish Hagada, and in the Cabbalists, but first derived from the B. Enoch in the *Pirke R. Eliezer* c. 22, a hagadic work, which at earliest was written in the eighth century,¹ then in *Bereschith Rabba* of R. Moses Haddarschan from the third quarter of the eleventh century. (Comp. Zunz loc. cit. p. 257 ff.) in B. Rasiel, which belongs at earliest, in its language and contents, to the eleventh century, (Zunz p. 167), and communicates under the title, "Book of the Mysteries," a large fragment from the book of Enoch, concerning the mysteries revealed to Noah, concerning the heavens, angels and watchers, in the *Hechaloth*, in the *Maase Bereschith*, a portion of the *Midrasch Konen* and of the B. Rasiel, in the B. Sohar, which was composed in 1300, and is, in part, compiled from very recent documents² in the *Pentateuch Comment.* of Menahem Recaniti, a Cabbalistic writer, towards the end of the thirteenth century, who cites the book of Enoch expressly,³ finally in the *Nischmath Chajim* of the R. Menasse ben Israel and the *Zeena Ureena* of the R. Jacob

¹ Comp. Zunz die gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden. S 271 ff.

² Comp. Zunz loc. cit. p. 405 and Jellinek: Moses ben Schem Tob de Leon and his relation to the Sohar. A Hist. Crit. Exam. of the Sohar. Lpz. 1851. Here it is proved that Mose ben Schem Tob of Leon in the second half of the thirteenth century was the principal author of the Pseudography of the Sohar, that it first consisted of separate treatises, which were by degrees united into a Codex, and at last adorned with the name of Simeon ben Jochai, although this Simeon ben Jochai pronounced an anathema upon all who understood בני האלים as angels (Gelinek at Frank, Kabbala p. 291 in Delitzsch, Genesis I. p. 224.) The passage from the Sohar Lawrence in the Prelim. dissert. in Hoffmann, the B. Enoch I. p. 54 communicated in the original.

³ S. Jellinek in the Zeitschrift d. deusch. morgenl. Gesellschaft III, p. 249.

ben Isaak,¹ two German Jews of the seventeenth century. If accordingly this explanation of Gen. 6: 1 fg. did not grow on the soil of orthodox Judaism, but was taken from the book of Enoch by the Jews and church fathers, the question presents itself, whether the author of this book invented it, or derived it from others. It is hardly conceivable in the extent of traditional matter elaborated in this book, that the author produced it all himself; it belongs to the character of the fabulous, that it is not invented and imagined by one man, but is developed and formed by degrees, from the spirit of the times. Dillmann therefore remarks correctly, p. XXV, that the author of the book of Enoch drew his materials mostly from the stores of the wise and the writers of his time, as appears clearly from Hagadic material found in C. S3—S9. But we have no historical witnesses concerning the origin of this book, to enable us to determine accurately the source of its materials, as the only ancient information, the notice preserved in Eusebius, *praep.* ev. IX, 17, that Eupolemus, according to the assertion of Alexander Polyhistor, traces the invention of Astrology and other arts to Enoch, furnishes nothing. We must then reduce the proposed question to the enquiry into the tendencies of Judaism, from which the book of Enoch originated.

Dillmann's researches render it very probable that the book of Enoch was written in the language of Palestine at the time, the Hebrew, or properly the Aramean dialect in the last decennia of the 2d Cent. before Christ. The author aimed "to reproduce for his age the old Bible faith, which had been much defaced in the last centuries, but was embraced by him and his pious cotemporaries with new energy, and in addition, to oppose with the warning voice of a divine messenger, and with the intelligence of an experienced sage, every description of Heathenism, even the most refined, the Heathenism in doctrine and life, the Heathenism in and beyond Israel, and further, to present for the strengthening of faith and the advancement of life extensively, all the deep seated truths and living elements concealed in the holy revelations, which were ascertained only by the enquiring and wise" (Dillmann p. XIV.). But despite his earnest efforts "to present, in opposition to the heathen spirit of the time, and the corrupt Judaism, a system of pure biblical conception of life and wisdom," he introduced things "which appear to be drawn more from the people's belief and their fables," to which he indeed gave a biblical cast, and by means of his coarse literal exegesis, a biblical founda-

¹ Comp. Wolf, *biblioth. hebr.* I, p. 598.

tion. His work contains some passages, which point to Essene views and principles of life, 2. §. the contempt for ornament, display, posts of honor, C. 98, 2, further the manner in which Enoch C. 83, 11 feels constrained by the sight of the rising sun to praise God. The fully matured view corresponds too to the doctrine of the Essenes, who made it the duty of their pupils to know the names of the angels, to communicate them to no one, to guard the writings concerning them (Joseph. de bell. jud. II, 8, 7). The book of Enoch has been regarded as belonging to the Essene literature, which formed the preparatory history of the Kabbala,¹ with which the fact admirably harmonizes, that the later Cabbalists make so much use of it.

But against this opinion Dillmann (p. 53) remarks with justice, that the peculiar spiritual contempt of the Essenes for the visible world and sensible things, nowhere appears, moreover, that the author of it had such gross and carnal views of the kingdom of the Messiah, as the Essenes could not have had, and finally the allegorical explanation of the scriptures peculiar to them, nowhere appears in the book. These differences show, at all events, that the author did not belong to the sect of proper Essenes, as they are described by Philo and Josephus. If we may not characterize minutely the precise tendency of the Judaism, which belongs to the book of Enoch, for want of exact information in regard to the different spiritual tendencies of the Jews in the second century before Chr., nevertheless, the contents show clearly the general truth ascertained by much experience, that wherever a novel, spiritual tendency enters energetically into the life of a people, the opponents of the new ideas unconsciously and unwillingly, despite their opposition, adopt parts of it, and are unable to resist entirely the spirit of the times. Accordingly, the author of the book of Enoch, with all the zeal with which he opposes the unbelief which manifested itself amongst the Jews, in consequence of the Grecian domination in Palestine, and controverts the sinners who deny "the name of the Lord of Spirits," and "the dwelling of the Holy," does not remain free from the influence of Heathenism or Judaism, but allows heathen representations to mingle with his writings, e. g. c. 17, where the firestream in the West, which empties into the great Western sea, the ocean, points clearly to the Περσική ὁδὸς, and the other great streams, v. 6, are, it may be, those called by the Greeks Styx, Acheron and Cocytus, which flow through and bound

¹ Jellinek in d. Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch. VII. S. 249.

Hades and the dark valley, where all mortals wander, Hades itself in the West of the ocean."¹

Likewise in his doctrine of angels, the influence of heathen views is perceptible, much as they, even in regard to the names of angels, have a Hebrew origin and basis. It is universally known, that the doctrine of angels, since the time of the exile of the Jews, was further developed, not without influence from the Babylonian and, perhaps too, of the Persian religious system. Unhistorical as was the opinion which long prevailed, that the Satan of the Old Testament was fashioned after the Persian Ahriman, it is nevertheless historically undeniable that the idea of "watchers" and "the decree of the watchers," which occurs in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar Dan. 4, 10, 14, and belongs to the religion of the Chaldees, corresponds with the *ἄγγελοι βορραῖαι* of the Babylonians (Diod. Sic. II, 30).² When Dan. 4: 10, the watcher is designated as holy, this implies the distinction between holy and unholy watchers, which corresponds with the division of the stars into good and bad—a fundamental dogma of the ancient Sabian astrology of the Chaldees. This idea of the watchers constitutes the foundation of the angel doctrine of the book of Enoch. If we assume with this, some acquaintance of the author with the widespread dogma of the Theogony, contained in the polytheistic religion of antiquity, and with the mythologic descriptions of the *δαίμονες θεῶν παῖδες* as demigods produced by the Gods with women, *ἡμίθεοι* as Plato (Cratyl. p. 260 ed. Bip.) calls the giants—a knowledge which, after what is stated above, cannot be denied—we obtain in this way the historical substratum for his revelations on the fall of the "watchers" or angels by means of sexual intercourse with the daughters of men. For as a Jew believing the Bible, he could only regard the *δαίμονες* and *ἡμίθεοι* of heathenism as angels or *בני האלהים*, sons of GoJ. He would not have appropriated such views, if he had not believed that he found them in the Bible, according to his understanding of it. But as in the main, he does not know how to discriminate between the contents and the form, between the thought and the dress in which it is robed, and accordingly believes as realities receptacles of the winds, hail, snow and rain, and a corner stone of the earth, and such like, he could easily believe that the *בני האלהים* in Gen.

¹ Comp. Dillmann p. 116, and with this the other cited passages p. 15. With the corresponding explanations in the Commentary on the book of Enoch.

² Comp. Münster, Relig. der Babylonier S. 13, Hengstenberg, Beitr. z. Einl. ins A. T. S. 161 u. Havernick, Comment. z. Daniel S. 144 ff.

6, as likewise in Job, are angels, and discern his conceptions of bad angels and demons taught in that passage. This conjecture is strongly sustained by the fact, that the entire dress of his instructions, in the form of revelations of the old patriarch Enoch, is derived from a peculiar interpretation of the passage Gen. 5, 21—24, in that he understands, according to an explanation found amongst Jews, *וַיְהִי עִנְיָן בְּעֵינֵי הָאֱלֹהִים* of a retired of Enoch, in intimate communion with God, and the angels, from which the conclusion was easy, that he who had such intercourse, would likewise obtain revelations in regard to the upper world.¹

3. Despite the unconditional faith, which the revelations of the Pseudo Enoch in regard to the angel world, obtained amongst the heathenizing and hellenizing Jews, such as Philo and Josephus, the later Cabbalists, and likewise many of the church fathers of the first and third centuries, we nevertheless meet in the second century a clear trace of another interpretation of Gen. 6, 1—4, which we may designate as the exegesis of the christian church, as all Exegets of the church, from the most ancient to the most recent times, have adopted it. It is the explanation of *בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים* as the pious Sethites, who had carnal intercourse with the daughters of the godless race of the Cainites. This explanation occurs in the Peschito, which appeared soon after the middle of the second century, in which *בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים* is understood as a proper name, and is reproduced unchanged, instead of the Syriac *Aloho*. In this it has been thought there is evidence, that the translator meant angels,² and the similar expression in Job I, 6 and II, 1 in the Peschito, seems to warrant this. But this appearance is destroyed by Job 38, 7. For here, where according to the plain context *בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים*, particularly the parallel *כֹּכְבֵי בָקָר*, only angels could be understood, the same translator has not rendered *benai Elohim*, but *benai malake*, i. e. sons of angels. From this it is certain, that the *benai Elohim* of the old Syriac are not angels, but children of God or the pious Sethites. This opinion, that the Sethites received the name of sons of God as a nomen propr. is, in addition, not only extensively distributed in the ancient church, but is likewise to be met with in Jewish and Arabic writers.³ The basis and origin are dif-

¹ Comp. Dillmann, B. Enoch S. XXVII.

² Thus e. g. Delitzsch, die Genesis I. S. 224.

³ We find in Chrysost., Cyrill. Alex. Theodoret, Basilius von Seleucia, Syncell., Suidas u. A. (S. the passages in Ode comm. de Angelis p. 326—

ferently given. Most derive it in general from the piety and fear of God of the Sethites; Chrysostom, Cyrillus Al. and Theodoret, more definitely refer its origin to Enoch, concerning whom, as Theodoret particularizes in Gen. 4, 26, it is related, as Aquila translates: τότε ἤρχθη τοῦ καλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. αἰνέσσεται δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὡς διὰ τὴν εὐσεβειαν οὗτος (i. e. Enos) πρῶτος τῆς δειας προσηγορίας τετύχηκε, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν ὠνομάσθη θεός· ὅθεν οἱ ἐκ τούτου φύντες υἱοὶ Θεοῦ ἐκρημάτιζον. After this the name "sons of God" was excluded from Aquila by an incorrect linguistic translation.¹

The Christian Adam book gives another explanation. In this more than once, but most plainly p. 83 (translation of Dillmann) it is said, that the descendants of Seth obtained the name "children of God" on account of their purity, instead of the hosts of angels who had fallen, for they continued to praise God, &c. The motive of this designation here assigned, depends on the representation which frequently occurs in the book of Adam and in christian antiquity, "that men are appointed to supply the vacancy created in the orders of the spiritual kingdom by the fall of angels" (Dillmann S. 138). Authorized to refer the idea so clearly uttered in the Adam book, which is to be ascribed to Ephraem the Syrian, in regard to the designation of the Sethites to the ancient Syrian, we have found the reason why, not only in Gen. 6, 2 and 4, but likewise in Job I, 6 and II, 1, בני האלהים is translated benai Elohim.² He did this, because he understood by these sons of God, not properly angels, but the pious received into the higher order of the spiritual kingdom, which was not to be thought of in Job 38: 7, because here the discourse was about angels before the creation of man.³

328), in the christian book of Adam of the East, which Dillmann has translated from the Ethiopic in Ewald's bibl. Jahrb. V., further in B. Cosri, in R. Gedaljae Schalscheleth, bei Ibn Batrik and Elmacin (S. the passages Heideggeri hist. Patriarch. I. p. 137 sqq.).

¹ According to what is said above in the text, is the remark of Kurtz, Gesch. d. A. Bundes I. S. 76. 2. Aufl. to be corrected, which ascribes to Theodoret an inconsistency. "Seth obtained the surname of θεός on account of his piety."

² In Gen. 6, it was easy to understand בני האלהים as the name of the sons of Seth, but not so in Job I, 6 and II, 1. The author of the Peschito was induced thus to translate in this place, it may be by this, that here in the text בני האלהים as Gen. 6, 2. 4 stands, not בני האלהים as in Job 38: 7. Likewise P. 8, 6 the Peschito translates מלאכים by Malake.

³ Whoever may find this conclusion too bold and doubtful, may consider, that not only the far spread idea of the name sons of God, ascribed to the Sethites but likewise that of the purpose to supply the place of the angels who fell before the creation of man, may be traced to the Greek translation of Gen. 4, 26 (See Orig.) whether it be that quoted by Theodoret from Aquila.

Another old testimony for the explanation in reference to the pious, is furnished by the *Recognitiones Clementis*, which date as far back, at least, as the first Decennia of the third century, because known to Origen. These knew nothing of angels, but relate I, 29 only of *homines justi, qui angelorum vixerant vitam*,¹ *illecti pulcritudine mulierum, ad promiscuos et illicitos concubitus declinarunt*. If we compare with this the view of the Clementine Homilies, introduced before, and regarded as correct, the dependence of the *Recognitiones* on the Homilies, which Schlieman has proved, the weighty result is, that the church party, from which the *Recognitiones* proceeded, had already at the beginning of the third century, rejected the angel doctrine, and regarded the explanation of sons of God as the pious Sethites, as correct.

Further Ephraem Syrus does not all mention, in his explanation of Genesis, the angel explanation, but remarks on Gen. 6, 2 (according to the Latin translation Opp. I. p. 48): *Filios Dei etiam filios Seth appellavit, qui utpote filii justi Seth populus Dei dicti sunt; filiae autem pulchrae, quae populi Dei oculos rapuerunt, Caini soboles erant, quae per cultum ornatumque sui sexus Sethianae juventuti laqueum fecerunt*. May we not infer from this, that the angel legend had not penetrated the churches of Eastern Syria? In any event, the explanation of the passage in those parts, as a mingling of the Sethites with Cainites, was already prevalent. The Christian "Adam book of the East" furnishes a sure proof of this. This Apocryphum, preserved in the Abyssinian church, and translated first very recently by Dillmann, from Ethiopian into German, and accompanied with observations, is a translation, not from the Greek, but from the Arabic into Ethiopic. This translation (perhaps too amplification) comes from the fifth or sixth century; but the book itself goes back, in a certain sense, to the authorship of Ephraem the Syrian. For a Syriac manuscript, in the library of the Vatican, contains,

la or the Alexandrian: *οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ*—therefore could have been formed right well in the second century already.

¹ When Delitzsch, Gen. I. p. 225, after citing these words, remarks: (I, 29. but comp. IV, 13—16), "wherein the mixture of angels' fire and female blood, which is fully brought out in the Clementine Homilies peeps out," this remark requires, as incorrect, a double correction. a) The passage 4, 13—16 cannot be contrast to I, 29., because it treats of the potestas daemonis data ingrediendi mentes, which has nothing to do with the sexual connexion of angels with women. b) Likewise the angelorum vita of the righteous does not at all imply that angel legend, but is simply the designation of the piety of the Sethites drawn from Gen. 5.

amongst other apocryphal books, a document with the title, *Spelunca thesaurorum h. e. Chronicon e Scriptura desumptum ab Adam usque ad Christum, &c.*, which must, not only from the extracts given by Assemani, be in the chief things the same book as the Ethiopian Adam book, but likewise was ascribed, in the thirteenth century, by Simon Presbyter, to Ephraem Syr. The contents of the Adam book furnish additional evidence. "Nearly every thing which is adduced in it, as characteristic of the original condition of man, and the change of man after his expulsion from the garden, rests upon Ephraem's views and expressions, and is to be read here and there in his writings, particularly his hymns; and likewise the stories and explanations of the Bible, which appear in the book, can be found detached in Ephraem's printed works."¹

The author of the Ethiopian Adam book gives, in the second part, an extensive description of the life of the human race, under the patriarchs, before the flood. The principal contents are, the separation of the race into two lines, one of which, the Cainites, entirely given over to Satan, and living in a luxurious place of Eden, but far distant from the garden, plunged more and more into the lusts of the flesh and immorality, the other, the Sethites, on the other hand, dwells high up on the mountain, near the garden, and under the guidance of the patriarch for the time leads a godly life, and guards against all intercourse with the Cainites, till the days of Jared and Enoch, enticed by Satan, working in the Cainites, and first a company of one hundred Sethites, despite all Jared's and Enoch's warnings, went down to the Cainites, and attracted by the beauty of their daughters, united with them in carnal love. This company was followed soon by others, and plunged themselves into destruction, so that in the end, only the three patriarchs, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah remained on the holy mount. The author knows, indeed, and mentions the opinion of earlier sages, that angels came from heaven and united with the daughters of Cain, and these bore them giants; but he opposes it as error and untrue, in saying amongst other things, it was actual children of Adam, who lived at an earlier period on the mountain, and as long as they preserved their virginity, and purity, and glory, like angels, were called the angels of God.² But when they transgressed, and united with the Cainites, and begat children (who were called Garsani i. e. Giants), the ignorant said, that angels had descended

¹ Comp. Dillmann in Ewald's Jahrb. V, S. 7 ff.

² Elsewhere they are called sons of God. Comp. Dillmann loc. cit. S. 93. 93. 95.

from heaven and united with the daughters of men, and begat from them giants.¹

In this representation of the life of the Sethites and their subsequent fall, we find a number of peculiar views united in a great picture, which reappear detached in other writers. Worthy of notice is the great similarity in the description of the manner of life of the Sethites, which is presented by this book and the account of Josephus (*Antiq.* 1, 2, 3 and 3, 1) a similarity which, as Dillmann *loc. cit.* p. 140, remarks, makes it very probable that Josephus was acquainted with the view, which considers the sons of God Sethites.² Then too, we find the idea of the dwelling of the Sethites upon a holy mountain, in the vicinity of a garden, in Syncellus and the christian Arabians Ibn Batrik and Elmacin,³ as likewise in Bar Hebraeus.⁴ Interesting is the comparison with the view of Ephraem the Syrian.

Whilst the book of Adam ascribes the seduction of the Sethites by the Cainites, directly to Satan and his diabolical arts, we find in the commentary of Ephraem several inducements, in which Satan was not directly implicated, to wit: in addition to that which Ephraem himself gave from *Gen.* 4, 15, 23 and 24, the opinion of others, that the Cainite Lamech, fearing the destruction of his race, to prevent it, tried to remove the separation between the Cainites and the Sethites. For this purpose he killed Cain, who was yet living, and a son of Cain, very much like him, in order to set aside the cause of the continued separation of both races, and agreed upon a plan, secretly, with his wives, of friendly union, the execution of which Ephraem thus describes: *Quum ergo matres* (i. e. the wives of Lamech) *filiarum forma ornatuque Sethi filios*

¹ Comp. Dillmann *loc. cit.* 100 f.

² Frankel too, *loc. cit.* p. 40. discovers in this account of Josephus a reference to the opinion, that the sons of God are Sethites, although Josephus afterwards mentions the angel story.

³ S. The passages in *Ode l. c.* p. 327. u. Heidegger *l. c.* p. 139.

⁴ In the *Chronic. Syr. ed.* Bruns et Kirsch p. 4. According to the Latin translation Bar-Hebr. relates: *Tempore Sethi, quando filii ejus beatam vitam paradisi recordati sunt, in montem Hermon secesserunt, inque desertis vitam innocentem et sanctam egerunt, a matrimonii abstinentes; unde vocati sunt Eiri (עירי vigiles) et Bani Elohim (filii Dei).—Anno quadragesimo Jaredi — — descenderunt filii Dei circiter 200, ex monte Hermonis, quia de redivit in Paradisum desperarunt; quumque conjugium appetere, spreverunt eos cognati eorum, filii Sethi et Enoschi, qui recusarunt illis, quasi pactum transgressi essent, filias suas in connubium dare. Quare abierunt ad filios Kaini, ductisque uxoribus gigantes celebres procrearunt, qui caedibus et rapinis famam consecuti sunt.* In this picture the mount Hermon, the name Eire, which the Sethites obtained in addition to Bani Elohim and the number 200, are derived from the Enoch story, and thus both circles of legends united with one another.

provocarent; ipsisque pro sua parte Jabel ex altitium carnibus convivia instrueret, atque simili arte Jubal organorum musicorum concentu illorum aures titillaret; fraudi succubere filii Seth, captique ejusmodi illecebris, parentis sui optimum sapientissimumque monitum oblivioni dedere: continuo ex editis locis, in quibus a Cainitis segregati consederant, in subjectos campos descenderunt. His artibus Lamech familias commiscuit, confidens, Deum utrique genti propitium fore in gratiam Sethianae stirpis, si quidem cum Cainitis confusa fuisset. Sic poenam, aiebat, parricidii effugiemus propter cognatos, ejus noxae minime reos.¹ These motives, unknown to the Adam book, prove nothing further than what constantly appears in repeated editions of legends, that the different editors modify variously, and impart their own form to the substance matter, partly according to their own ideas and views, and partly according to the special objects which they propose.

From the testimonies thus far adduced, it appears sufficiently that in the fourth century the explanation of the passage in reference to the ungodly marriages of the pious children of God with ungodly children of the world, or the Sethites with the Cainites, was widely spread in the church. From the second half of this century, the assumption of angel marriages with human beings, was decidedly rejected by the old church fathers of the East and West, and controverted as a gross error. Theodoret (quaest. 47 in Genes.) commences the elucidation on *νότοι τῶν θεοῦ* of the passage with the sentence: Ἐμβρόντητοί τινες καὶ ἄγαν ἡμίθειοι ἀγγέλους τούτους ἐπέλαβον, τῆς οἰκείας ἰσως ἀπολασίας ἀπολογίαν σχήσειν ἡγοούμενοι, εἰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τοιαῦτα κατηγοροῦεν. Chrysostomus (homil. XXII in Genes.) speaks of the absurdity *ἀτοπία* of the opinion, that Gen. 6: 2 speaks of angels, and expresses it as necessary, ἀναρτίσαι τὰς μυθολογίας τῶν ἀπερισκεπτός πάντα φεγγομένων. Cyrillus Al. (contr. Julian I. IX) exclaims ἀπίστω δὴ οὖν καὶ γραφὴ καὶ μῦθος καὶ τὰ ἐν αἰσχροῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐγκλήματα τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων. In the West Philastrius of Brescia. (+ c. 390) characterizes the angel story (de haeres. 59) as heresy, and Augustine, in his book, de civitate Dei XV, 23 devotes an entire chapter to the question: an credendum sit, angelos substantiae spiritualis amore speciosarum mulierum captos earundem iniisse conjugia, ex quibus gigantes sint creati, and introduces the result, after examining the matter dogmatically and exegetically, with the words: omitteremus igitur earum scripturarum fabulas, quae apocrypha nuncupantur, eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus, a quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium Scripturarum certissima et notissima suc-

¹ Ephraem Syri. Opp. omnia. Rom. 1737. T. I. p. 47 according to the Latin translation aside of the Syriac text.

cessionem pervenit. Sed non frustra non sunt in eo canone Scripturarum, qui servabatur in templo Hebraei populi succedentium diligentia sacerdotum, (cur autem hoc) nisi quia ob antiquitatem suspectae fidei iudicata sunt, nec utrum haec essent quae illi scripsisset, poterat inveniri, non talibus proferentibus, qui ea per seriem successionis reperirentur rite servasse. Unde illa quae sub ejus nomine proferuntur, et continent istas de gigantibus fabulas, quod non habuerint homines patres, recta a prudentibus judicantur non ipsius esse credenda. The authority of these great teachers made the ethical interpretation of "sons of God" as the Sethites or pious, the prevailing one, which all the following commentators, both of the Catholic church,¹ and likewise of the protestant church, without exception, after the example of the Reformers,² till the last century, adopted.

The rise of Rationalism furnished general support to the angel explanation, both with the unlearned and the learned, because it was thought that a mythological fragment could easily thus be proved to exist in the Old Testament. In the most recent period, finally, a number of orthodox divines have subscribed³ to this view, and attempted to defend it as the on-

¹ Comp. Bonfrerius u. C. a. Lapide zu Gen. VI. und die dort angeff. frühern Ausll.

² S. Mart. Lutheri Opera lat. exeg. Bd. II. p. 122 sqq. der Erl. Ausg. u. Jo. Calvini in Genes. comment. ad Gen. VI.

³ Drechsler, Einheit d. Genes. S. 91 f., Hofmann, Weiss. u. Erfüll. I. p. 85 f. u. Schriftbeweis I. S. 374 ff., M. Baumgarten, Comment. z. Pent., Kurtz, Gesch. des A. B. I. S. 76 ff., Delitzsch, Genes. I. S. 224 ff., Dillmann, B. Henoch S. XXVII., Joh. Richers, die Schöpfungs-Paradieses-u. Sündfluthgeschichte. Lpz. 1854. S. 384 ff., Stier, Brief Judä S. 142 f. u. Dietlein Comm. z. 2. Brief Petri S. 149 ff. On the other hand, Twisten, Nitzsch, Huther u. Fr. v. Meyer are cited by Kurtz loc. cit. erroneously as defenders of this view. For Twisten (Dogmat. II, 1. S. 332) mentions, in the investigation of the fall of the Devil and his angels, the view that depravity in the angels was derivable from sensuality, to wit: sexual love, "as a conception, which the Jewish explanation of the passage 1 Mos. 6, 2 in regard to angels, who fell in love with the daughters of men, may have introduced to many church fathers," and remarks on this in a note, "that this view is not so monstrous, as it at first appears, and could not have been presented more brilliantly than it is in Th. Moore's loves of the angels"—but without assenting to it; for he afterwards deduces the fall of angels from self love. Nitzsch (System S. 234 f.) finds in 1 Mos. 6 a peculiar Hamartigenie, but only the Augustinian view, that "the opposition to this time of the better and worse part of men was removed, to the injury of the first, by means of sensual enticements, and now this race became unable to meet the purposes of God in regard to man. Huther too (Comm. z. d. Briefen Petri u. Juda S. 204 ff.) does not adopt this view, but says only after citing the legend of the descent of the angels from the book of Enoch: "the tradition which is found elsewhere, is based on the narrative 1 Mos. 6, 2 the interpretation of which is to this day disputed." Fr. v. Meyer too, cannot, without qualification, be regarded as an adherent of this view, for he says (Blätter f. höhere

ly correct one. With what argument and success, will appear from an examination of the three views which we have presented, to which we will now proceed.

II. In the examination of the Rabbinic or orthodox Jewish understanding and explanation of the passage, we need not employ much time. It is supported by a *usus loquendi*, which appears in some passages of the Old Testament, but is not applicable to Gen. 6, and may be regarded now as obsolete. On the other hand, for the second, and against the third view, the following reasons are adduced, of which the first three are supposed to prostrate the ethical interpretation of בני האלהים.

1. The *usus loquendi*, according to which "בני האלהים" elsewhere is always the designation of angels." For the appreciation of this argument, it must first be remarked, that this expression occurs only three times in the entire Old Testament, namely, Job 1, 6; 2, 1 and XXXVIII, 7 (without the article) and here undoubtedly means angels. In addition, Ps. 29, 1. 89, 7 and Dan. 3, 25 are cited, but the last is Chaldee, and in the two others are, בני אלים. Further these passages have only secondary power of proof. But the passages of Job are decisive? We believe not, for it may be asked, whether we may unconditionally identify the *usus loquendi* of a book of the age of Solomon with the *usus loquendi* of Genesis, as it is an undoubted fact, that words in the course of time change their import. If the *usus loquendi* is considered decisive, we oppose Ps. 73, 15, where Asaph in his address to אלהים calls the race of the pious דור צדיקה the race of thy sons, and by this plainly marks the pious as בני אלהים. Why is the weight of this passage overlooked? not from philological, but theological reasons, which we will reach hereafter. Here we introduce it as a proof that the *usus loquendi* cannot determine the matter, and the decision must be sought elsewhere.

2. "בנות האדם 6, 2 cannot mean the daughters of the race of Cain, as immediately before 6, 1 האדם is used as the name of the unseparated entire race." A very correct remark, which

Wahrh. XI. p. 63) very explicitly: "as the sons of God mentioned in 1 Mos. 6, 1 ff. or Gods begat children with the daughters of men, they could not be angels, who too are called *bne Elohim*, but have no sex, neither marry nor are given in marriage (Luke 20, 34 ff.) but they must be half spiritual (not fleshly) but perishable creatures, who are qualified to propagate; and and that there are such, or were, we learn from this passage, and all the traditions of antiquity confirm it, which receive their elucidation through it" Fr. v. Meyer appears to have in view the *daemones incubi*, like the old Franc. Valesius, de sacr. philosoph. c. 8. and the Theosoph Fr. Christ. Oettinger (comp. Auberlen die Theosophie Fr. Chr. Oettingers S. 337).

the advocates of the ethical interpretation of the phrase "sons of God" have themselves made. Aug. Pfeiffer (*dubia vexat.* p. 61) says: intelligas itaque licet filias hominum in genere, sive piorum sive impiorum a. ob famosiorum significatum vocis אֲנָשִׁים (β) ob v. 1 ubi de hominibus in genere dicitur, quod generarint filias, ex iis itaque v. 2. uxores sibi eligunt filii Dei. The argument of the adverse party does not touch the church view, but only the entirely external explanation of sons of God of the Sethites, and the daughters of men of the Cainites as such, which, it is true, is found in many Exegetes, but has long since been given up by more critical investigators. So says Havernick (*Einl.* 1, 2. S. 265) very appositely, V. 1, is expressly in reference to the increase of human beings in general, so too, verse 3, so that it is unavoidable to consider the sons of God and the daughters of men as two species of the genus mentioned in the compass of the verse,¹ and understands בנות האדם of the daughters of the rest of mankind.¹ On this Hofmann objects (*Weissag. u. Erfüll.* I. S. 86) "that if Häv. explains as the daughters of other men, he must first better establish the phrase "sons of God" as belonging to the Sethites." We accept willingly the admission which this opposing remark contains; for with it is the force of the argument destroyed as understood by Kurtz loc. cit.: "if the Bne Elohim were men, there would be no antithesis." The establishment of sons of God or Sethites, which Hofmann calls for, leads us to the following argument of our opponents:

3. "That the idea of sonship with God in the Old Testament, makes a start to gain a universal ethical import (particularly Ps. 73, 15. Prov. 15, 16) beyond its theocratic restriction to Israel (Deut. 14, 1), but this extension and deepening attain not such an issue, that in the prose style of history the phrases at once mean children of God and children of the world." In this is contained the undeniable truth, that the ethical relation of divine sonship, since the closing of the covenant of God with Abraham, and the realizing of this covenant, by the receiving of the seed of Abraham, as the people of Jehovah, is placed under the point of view of children (sons of God) (comp. Exod. 4, 22. Deut. 14, 1, &c.). This

¹ Likewise Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* 2. S. 331 f.) remarks very truly: "the general use of אֲנָשִׁים in v. 1, can very properly be followed by the restricted, as the restriction there is involved in the opposition, the more, as the one member of the antithesis is much less important than the other, the small company of the sons of God does not compare with the large corrupt mass, so that the real idea of אֲנָשִׁים is not altered." Hengstenberg does not think either of regarding the daughters of men as Cainites.

same applies to Prov. 15, 26, where ^{וְכָל} are children of Jehovah, and Ps. 73, 15, where, as in all the Elohim Psalms, ^{אֱלֹהִים} has the same dignity as ^{יְהוָה}. The New Testament too, does not pronounce all men, without distinction, children of God, but only those of all nations, who have been elevated by faith in Christ to sonship with God. But with the recognition of this important truth, it is by no means proved, that in the primitive period, before the separation of Abraham as the vehicle of salvation for the time of preparation of redemption, there could not be children of God, and the pious worshippers of God could not be called sons of God. Were there men in this period who led a godly life, who, like Noah and Enoch, walked with God (Gen. 5, 22. 6, 9.), there is no reason why such men should not be called sons of God. Little as Ps. 73, 15 proves the ethical sense of the phrase "sons of God," in Gen. 6, just as little is the objection valid, which is derived from it in opposition to it, that within the theocratic plan of salvation, only sons of Jehovah are mentioned. The idea of divine sonship, obtained certainly, by God's taking Israel as his people, a peculiar meaning relating to the history of salvation; but this does not prove a priori that this idea was not in a modified form applicable to the pious of the primitive times. Therefore, this argument is inadequate, as were the two former, to annihilate the ethical explanation of sons of God. Just as little can I say this of the remaining arguments which my friend and colleague Kurtz, loc. cit., still employs.

4. "The addition in v. 4.:" "these are Heroes, men of renown of old," *appears* emphatically to carry back the mythological legends of the heathen concerning sons of God, and heroes to this fact." But is there truth in this *appearance*? The controversy on the sense of this passage justifies doubt at once. The explanation of Hofmann (im Schriftbeweis I. S. 375) as a prophecy of the narrator, "that in the future too, when the sons of God come into union with the daughters of men, and they bring forth children to them, as it was then, these sons will be men of might," is rejected both by Delitzsch and Kurtz, in the correct remark: the reference of the ^{אֲנָשִׁים} to the postdiluvian time is untenable; the judgment of the flood was to put an end to this wickedness, and at the same time, the binding of the angels who had fallen through their fleshly lusts, is parallel with it (Jud. 6, 2. Pet. 2, 4)." It is, too, in itself, entirely untenable, and by reference to Gen. 30, 38 not sustained grammatically. Delitzsch translates the v. in question: "the giants appeared in the earth in these days (about the time when the gracious respite of one hundred and

twenty years was granted) and likewise afterwards, when the sons of God united themselves with the daughters of men, then they bare them the heroes who of old were men of renown." If we permit this translation to stand, we must take notice of the explanation as unwarrantable which accompanies it: "the first born of this commingling were the giants, but afterwards the unnatural union continued, and the heroes were the issue, a second less giant like, but nevertheless an astonishingly powerful race. It is not to be justified, that נפילי' (נפילי' is explained simply of the continuance of the unnatural connexion of the sons of God with the daughters of men. But likewise the translation, "the giants appeared in the earth in those days," we must reject as incorrect. For to translate in this passage נפילי' by "enstanden," appeared, is against the Hebrew usus loquendi,¹ and in nothing better than the quid pro quo of Kurtz, by which S. 78, he converts the "were" into appeared. The contested passage runs: "The Nefilim were on the earth in those days, and likewise when the sons of God afterwards came to the daughters of men, and they brought forth to them; these were the heroes . . ." Herein is clearly asserted, that at that time, when the race of man began to multiply on the earth, the (known) Nefilim existed, and that such heroes, who were of old men of renown, likewise afterwards, after the carnal intercourse of the sons of God with the daughters of men still continued. The נפילי' can only refer to גימס נפילי' and only express: that afterwards (i. e. after those days in which the Nefilim were on earth) by means of union between the sons of God and daughters of men, a similar race of heroes and renowned persons arose.² It appears, therefore, incomprehensible, how Kurtz, S. 78, could designate and maintain this view as decidedly erroneous: "it is not said

¹ Delitzsch omitted to establish this translation; Knobel, on the other hand, refers for it to Gen. 17, 16. Cohel. 3, 20, did not however think that there נפילי' is partly construed with נפילי', partly with נפילי'.

² Thus have able critics of all times understood the passage: Augustinus already (de civ. Dei XV, 23) remarks: Haec libri verba divini indicant, jam illis diebus fuisse gigantes super terram, quando filii Dei acceperunt uxores filias hominum, cum eas amarent bonas, i. e. pulchras.— Sed et postquam hoc factum est, nati sunt gigantes. Sic enim ait: "Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis, et post illud, quum intrarent filii Dei ad filias hominum." Ergo et ante in illis diebus, et post illud. Later Calvin says: Sic enim habetur ad verbum: atque etiam ex quo filii Dei ingressi sunt ad filias hominum: ac si dictum esset: quin etiam, vel, atque adeo: nam primo narrat Moses fuisse tunc Gigantes, deinde subjicit nonnullos quoque fuisse ex sobole illa promiscua, ex quo se filii Dei miscuerunt filiabus hominum. Finally Thiele says (I. B. Mos.): The Nefilim are the elder, heroes the later, who were produced by the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men.

that independently of the union of the sons of God Nifilem arose."¹ According to this, it scarcely deserves a remark, that v. 4 is not adapted to furnish a proof for the explanation of angels for the phrase "sons of God,"² but rather the contrary.

5. "The historiological place and import of this fact is decidedly in favor of it. From this explanation alone, the necessity appears to commence anew after the destruction of the entire race of man. For it cannot be merely arbitrary, that in the selection of Abraham, as the beginner of a new development of the plan of salvation, the rest of mankind were preserved, whilst here they were destroyed." There is but one thing wanting to the argument—scripture proof. As we have not participated in God's counsels, and have not even a clear idea of the physical and spiritual power of the primitive human race, with a life extending through several hundred years, it might be considered presumption in our limited understanding, to assert, that only such a moral depravity, as resulted from sexual intercourse between angels and the daughters of men, could constitute the measure of iniquity to be punished by a flood. If we judge the secret divine wisdom, manifested in the great judgments, by our views and comprehension, we could only draw the conclusion opposed to that argument, that the moral corruption which made so extraordinary a judgment necessary, did not proceed from supernatural beings, to whose superior power weak human nature must yield, but from the world of mankind alone.³

After all this, we can neither consider this argument conclusive nor convincing, and believe too, that the advocates of the

¹ To justify this assertion, Kurtz adopts the Delitzsch translation and explanation, but admits too: "a certain hardness and want of coherence in the description," and tries to remove it, in taking with Dettinger the $\epsilon\kappa$ not as additativ but emphatic = just, even, referring particularly to it in the second clause of Gen. 29, 30. If we translate according to verse 5: "the Nefilim were on the earth in those days, and then when the sons of God united . . .". The view developed above in the text is firm, if the imperfect $\epsilon\kappa$ is understood according to grammar as imp. and not as Kurtz does plup.—against the principles of the language, which require for this case, after the conj. $\epsilon\kappa$ the perfect. $\epsilon\kappa$; comp. Deut. 24, 4. Jos. 9, 16. 23, 1. 24, 20. Jude 11, 36. 2 Sam. 19, 31, and 2 Sam. 24, 10 (after $\epsilon\kappa$).

² Dietlein himself (2d Pet. S. 152) is compelled finally to allow, on account of $\epsilon\kappa$ "that it is necessary to give up the employment of v. 4 to prove that the sons of God are angels."

³ Very truly remarks Theodoret in his relation (Quæst. 47 in Genes.): $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omega\kappa\ \alpha\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\chi\eta\sigma\alpha\iota\ \delta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\delta\acute{\iota}\chi\eta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \alpha\iota\ \alpha\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota\ \pi\alpha\acute{\rho}\alpha\ \tau\omega\kappa\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\kappa\ \beta\iota\alpha\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\kappa\ \delta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\iota\epsilon\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \cdot\ \eta\delta\acute{\iota}\chi\eta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\acute{\rho}\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\rho\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\kappa\ \lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\kappa\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \zeta\omicron\lambda\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\ \cdot\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\delta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\kappa\ \alpha\iota\mu\alpha\iota\ \phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\lambda\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\alpha\cdot$

view in question, would not have rated the power and significance of it high, if they had not supposed they found in 2 Pet. 2, 4 and Jude v. 6, a decided proof, of their opinion. But as Peter, in loc. cit. only speaks of ἀμαρτίαι of the angels, without a minute specification of the ἀμαρτία, and Jude too, characterizes their sin as πορνείαι, like the πορνεία of Sodom and Gomorrah, but neither refers directly to the passage under examination, nor still less does he give an authentic explanation of it, we cannot consider these passages, at the outset, as regulating and deciding the interpretation, but we must explain the narrative of Genesis from itself, and in connection with the primitive history, and then harmonize the result with those apostolic declarations.

Proceeding to the positive establishment of our view, we have

1. To take notice of the connexion. After in C. 4 an account of the propagation of the Cainites, and in (v. 23 f.) the ode of Lamech, an intimation is afforded of the revengeful and murderous spirit of this degenerate race, the narrative proceeds to the exhibition of the genealogy of Seth (C. 5), with whose son Enos, the solemn invocation of God began (4, 26), and from him Enoch sprang, who because he walked with God, was taken away by God (5, 24), till Noah, who was righteous, and not exposed to punishment in his generation, and walked with God (5, 32 and 6, 9). When now the account of the entire corruption of man is directly added (6, 1—8) and when this account is introduced by the words: when men began to increase in the earth, &c., there is here evidently a reunion of the generations which had before been separated, and it is easy to assume, that by the gradual increase of the human race the difference of the fundamentally unlike families, the Sethite and the Cainite was expunged, and thus the divine was absorbed by the worldly life.¹ "It cannot be denied—remarks Delitzsch p. 225, that the connexion of 6, 1—8 with c. 4, requires the assumption of such a commingling towards the time of the flood, and the divine prohibition of mixed marriages Ex. 34, 16 comp. Gen. 27, 46. 28, 1 fg. favored the picture of this commixture, which would appear here." What is now in the way of an assumption so obvious from the context, that the depravity described 6, 1, fg. till the time of the righteous Noah, arose from the mixing together of the race

¹ Comp. A. Pfeiffer, dub. vex. p. 61: Sic optime sese habet συνάφεια. Hucusque posterius piorum ductum parentum et sana consilia secuti e familia sua pias duxerant uxores. Nunc multiplicato genere humano plerique eorum incipiunt jugum excutere atque degenerare.

of the pious with the impious? Nothing but the mention of בני האלהים. But that this expression does not necessarily point to angels or supernatural beings, but may likewise designate the pious, who like Enoch and Noah walked with God, we have proved above, and here employ ourselves in further establishing this ethical view.

2. The opinion, that here "sons of God" means angels, is opposed at once by the article in the latter word. True, we find too, in Job 1, 6 and 2, 1 the article, but in the first אלהים is, as in all the writings of the Old Testament, except Genesis, a pure appellative; in the latter the article was necessary to express the specific idea, the angels. It is otherwise here in Genesis, where אלהים is used as a proper name, in which case no article is necessary for rendering the idea sons of God. In Genesis the difference is carefully to be marked between the word with and without the article. Whilst אלהים presents God as creator and governor of the world, the other (article) is only used where the idea of the personal God is to be made prominent, so that האלהים constitutes the medium of transition of אלהים to יהוה. The correctness of this distinction appears already from this, that whilst in all the so called Elohistic portions of Gen. I—XI, God is called only אלהים, concerning the walk of Enoch and Noah with God, האלהים is used, just because their piety consisted in communion with the personal God. According to this, it would be expected that to describe the angels, only בני אלהים would be used, because they bear only the nature of God, or the supernatural divine essence. But the phrase יהוה אלהים carries us further. This expression does not imply a life in intimate union with the upper world, with angels;¹ for the Old Testament does not distinguish either angels as אלהים, nor God too included with them.² The walking with God marks the inmost vital communion with the personal God, similar to a walking at God's side;³ it involves the (יהוה) Gen. 17, 1. 24, 40 and אלהים Deut. 13, 5, and expresses more than these two forms of expression. These presuppose the location of man under the divine law, which raises a wall of partition between God and man, makes man (יהוה) עבד האלהים; on the other hand, in אלהים אלהים the servant's re-

¹ As Dillmann, B. Henoch S. 27 explains it following the B. of Enoch.

² Thus M. Baumgarten, theol. Comm. 1. p. 5. Richers and others.

³ Delitzsch, Genesis 1 p. 220 remarks to this: "In the New Testament the testimony would be, his walk was ἐν παραδείσῳ." But this does not explain the expression grammatically, because האלהים (with the article) expresses in Genesis not merely the antithesis of the creation and heaven, not at all the divinity in general, but the personal God.

lation is taken away, and the most intimate life union is established, which is a communion with God, not restricted by any legal restraint. From this it is clear, why the walk of the pious of the Old Testament, from Gen. 17 on, is distinguished only as *וְהָיָה לְמַעַן יִתֵּן*, because it is a walk under the law of Jehovah, and the expression *וְהָיָה לְמַעַן יִתֵּן* only appears once (except Gen. 5 and 6), in Mal. 2, 6, and indeed not of the pious of Israel as such, but of Levi or, the priest, or vehicle and teacher of divine knowledge, as *וְהָיָה לְמַעַן יִתֵּן* (Mal. 2, 7). For the priest stood, under the Old Testament, in a much closer connexion with God; he could assemble with Jehovah in the sanctuary, commune directly with God, which was not allowed the people. In the priesthood the vocation of Israel as the son of Jehovah, attained that reality which the sonship with God could acquire in the form of the Old Testament economy. The priest entered into the privileges of the son of Jehovah; in his relation to Jehovah the limit was removed which depressed the son to the servant.

If walking with *וְהָיָה לְמַעַן יִתֵּן* designates the closest communion with God, they who walk with him could be called "sons of God." The question might yet be asked, whether we are authorized to transfer to all pious Sethites the walking with God which is ascribed to Enoch and Noah? The justification is found in this, that after the predominance of corruption, Noah was still found "just and perfect," and walking with God. This representation authorizes the conclusion, that before the spreading around of corruption, the race of the Sethites in general, stood in the relation to God, in which at last Noah was found. This position to God, which is the foundation of sonship with God, can only be attained by man through the spirit of God; but will we dare, perhaps, to deny to the pious of the primitive world, the spirit of God? Jehovah says of the degenerate race (v. 3): my spirit shall not always rule in man ("mein Geist soll nicht ewig in dem Menschen walten"). The *וְהָיָה לְמַעַן יִתֵּן* in this connexion, is indeed mainly the life producing spirit of God; but can there be in the concrete such a separation between the life causing and the sanctifying spirit, that "spirit of God shall be the divine principle of the physical, and not at the same time, of the ethical life? On this, the position of Levi or the priest in the theocracy, throws light. Levi could only assume the station to which the Lord chose him in that he was anointed by the spirit of God. And if this anointing more immediately represents the endowment for the office, the office cannot, in the concrete, be separated from the person, and the grace of the office from the personal grace. When

then the pious Sethites are called sons of God, this is not merely because they were created after God's image, but because in their walk they manifested before God the divine image by a life of righteousness and purity.

But if these pious persons too, are called sons of God, by no means—so may it be objected—those who in the choice of wives were influenced by the exterior beauty? Did they not in this deny their relationship to God? But if this has weight, it would lie too against the explanation of "sons of God" as angels. The angels too, are not called "sons of God" as supernatural, incorporeal beings, but only so far as they have the divine nature, participate in the sanctity and blessedness of God. When they do not preserve this their ἀρχή, and deny and lose by πορνεία the holiness of the divine being in which they were created, they deserve no longer the name sons of God. At least, there is no passage of the scriptures, in which they are so designated. We are not, therefore, warranted, in any case, to press too much the designation "sons of God." Then it is suitable too, for the pious Sethites. The Apostle Paul likewise calls the christians at Corinth "saints," amongst whom fornication existed, and such as is not named amongst the Gentiles (1 Cor. 5, 1), and reminds those who bring their controversies before the unjust and not before the saints, that the saints will judge the world and angels too (6, 1—3). Why should not the race of the Sethites be still called children of God, when they began to give up their godly walk and to mingle with the daughters of men?¹

3. Decisive for the ethical interpretation of the phrase "sons of God," is what is said in v. 2 and 3 of their sin. "They saw the daughter of men (not merely, it may be, the Cainites, but the daughters in general, born to men, v. 1), that they were fair, and they took wives of all they chose," and went so far that Jehovah must say: "my spirit shall not always rule in man; in their wandering they are flesh; their days shall be one hundred and twenty years;" i. e. they shall have a respite for repentance of one hundred and twenty years.² The sin

¹ Si quis objiciat, indignos esse qui censeantur in Dei filiis qui turpiter defecerant a fide et Dei obsequio: solutio facilis est, non illis tribui honorem, sed Dei gratiae quae adhuc in illis domibus fulgebat. Nam quum de filiis Dei loquitur Scriptura, aliquando ad aeternam electionem respicit, quae non extenditur nisi ad legitimos haeredes; aliquando ad externam vocationem, secundum quam multi intus lupi sunt: et quum re ipsa sint alieni, filiorum tamen obtinent nomen, donec abdicet eos Dominus. Imo tam honorifico titulo ingratitude illis exprobat Moses, quod relicto Patre coelesti, tanquam transfugas se prostituerint. Calvin.

² See the justification of this view; Delitzsch p. 223 fg.

consisted in this, that they, in the selection of wives, looked to beauty, or as Knobel correctly paraphrases the words, "from the mass of the daughters of men, each one selected those that pleased him, and took them as wives."¹ By this, viz: that they looked to beauty, to the outward, physical beauty, they manifested that they were flesh, that their spiritual life had become carnal.² Herein there are decisive proofs against the assumption that angels were the seducers of the daughters of men. a) The degeneration of the human race, which rendered necessary the introduction of a final respite for repentance, was not deduced from this, that the daughters of men burned with carnal lust towards the sons of God, but from this, that the sons of God in the choice of wives, were led by the lust of the eyes, and in this the carnality of the men was made manifest. Entirely apart from this, that this suits men and not angels, it would be necessary, if the angels were, notwithstanding, the originators of the sin, to expect at the very least, according to the analogy of Gen. 3, 14 ff., that in the judgment of God upon this transgression, the principal leader would be mentioned, at least with one word. It is not at all the usage of the scriptures, where they judge wickedness, merely to judge and condemn the seduced, and to remain silent on the guilt of the seducer. If in this way all thought of angels is already removed, it will be entirely excluded by the "they took them wives." This phrase is used in the entire Old Testament, only for entering upon divinely instituted marriage, never and nowhere for mere coitus or fornication. These words exclude the angels entirely, as angels can contract no marriages, as they, according to the word of God, neither marry nor are given in marriage (Matt. 22, 30). True, Kurtz thinks: "this declaration of the Lord merely proclaims that all carnal intercourse is contrary to the nature of holy angels, in which it is not denied, that they, falling from their original holiness, may pass over into incurable disorder." But with the reference to degeneracy into an incurable disorder, the possibility of carnal intercourse of higher spirits with physico-spiritual human beings, is not at all proved. We know

¹ Ducunt sibi uxores pro lubitu non os consulentes parentum, sed oculos suos libidinisque ductum sequentes, et spectantes pulchritudinem potius quam pietatem et honestos mores, promiscue etiam sine ullo respectu familiarum, consanguinitatis et religionis, forte et plures simul ad exemplum Lamechi impii. A. Pfeiffer l. c.

² The close union between v. 3 and 1 and 2, was employed by Theodoret and Augustin l. c., as a proof that the sons of God were not angels but men.

too little of the nature of angels, to say with categorical positiveness, that the "not marrying and giving in marriage" of them is to be explained, that for these higher orders of beings the difference of sexes, which God has ordained for the creatures of our earth, does not at all exist; but we must, on the other hand, reject the opposite assertion as monstrous, that the angels, by degeneracy, become capable of procreation, and can take wives, till the defenders of it are better able to support it by proof than they thus far have been. The proof attempted by Hofmann, and approved by Delitzsch, Kurtz discards as insufficient. With perfect right he remarks, in opposition to the reference to the miraculous conception of Mary by the agency of the Holy Ghost: "the human nature of the second Adam is not begotten by the spirit of God, but like that of the first created; begotten, however, is the eternal Word in the fruit of the womb of the blessed virgin, brought forth by the creating power of the Holy Ghost. *Such a creating energy we cannot ascribe to a created spirit.* The spirit can only produce spirit." But the solution which Kurtz furnishes, does not answer. For if we admit what many natural philosophers claim, that the angels have a body, and such indeed as is fully under the control of the indwelling spirit, so that it unconditionally submits, not only to natural tendencies, but to any that may be unnatural:" in this there is not in the least, a possibility of sexual intercourse between these spirits, endowed with a sublimated physique, and the spirituo-bodily beings of our earth, or at all the possibility of marriages between these spirits of heaven, and the daughters of men on earth, with a fruitful coitus made out. And if the probability of such an idea was made clear by Th. Moore's poetic fancies on the loves of the angels, it would be proved untenable by the passage of our Lord already cited. For Christ speaks here of men in the resurrection, who are not without bodies, but have glorified bodies, as a superior materiality. When then, he makes these like to angels, in that they neither marry nor are given in marriage, in this he makes known that angels do not marry, whether they have or not a superior body.

This declaration of the Lord establishes the results of our exegetical investigation, that the "sons of God" are not angels, but the race of the pious, which, according to the tradition of Genesis, consisted of the Sethites. But how does the assertion in the letter of Jude v. 6 f. coincide with this result? Judas says, indeed, in v. 6 only: "the angels who preserved not their principality, but left their habitation, the Lord has preserved with eternal chains in thick darkness, till the judgment

of the great day," but that he by "leaving," thought of forsaking their habitation for the purpose of fornication with the daughters of men, may be inferred with tolerable certainty, from a comparison of the sin of Sodom with the sin of those angels (they committed fornication after the same manner v. 7).¹ But it is just as certain, and acknowledged by all commentators of this epistle, that Jude did not derive this idea directly from Gen. 6, but from the legends of the Enoch book, which were in circulation at that time. This appears not only from the entire correspondence with those legends, but likewise from this, that Jude v. 9, gives another from the same source, and in v. 14 mentions expressly the prophecy of Enoch. Every one acquainted with the book of Enoch, knows, without proof, that it is not genuine, did not proceed from the Patriarch Enoch. But were not, perhaps, the church fathers right, who with August. l. c. maintain: scripsisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch illum septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus, cum hoc in epistola canonica Judas Apostolus dicat? Or could not, at least, much of the traditional matter of the book of Enoch have been transmitted from the ancient Enoch? The possibility of this cannot be positively denied; but such opinions are not probable; and the use which Judas makes of these traditions, neither requires such assumptions, nor in general, unconditional belief in their historical truth. With this assertion, we neither intend to deny the canonicity of this letter, nor the inspiration of its author, although, together with the old protestant divines, we cannot ascribe to this Antilegomenon of the New Testament, the full dignity of a Homologumenon; but we believe that we must, in the apostolic letters in general, distinguish between the divine truth, which they communicate, and the arguments with which they establish and aim to illustrate these truths; and that in this, in addition, the paranetic tendency of these writings must be kept in view, and in polemic developments, the views of the opponents are to be taken into account. For illustrating, establishing, and impressing of truths, the apostles used frequently, examples, not only from the Old Testament, but likewise from traditional communications, the historical character of which is not fully made out. Thus Paul e. g. in 2 Tim. 3, 8 names Jannes and Jambres as the two magicians, who withstood Moses, according to the Jewish tradition (for in Exod. 7. 11, 12,

¹ The reference of *εὐφροσύνη* to Sodom and Gomorrah is possible, and grammatically admissible, and in this case the sin of angels is not definitely fixed but the other reference is more natural. Comp. Huther on the passage.

and 8. 3, 14, are only the *Chartammim* of Egypt mentioned without name and number) undisturbed about whether this tradition had historical authority or not. In like manner Jude cited the book of Enoch in regard to the fornication of angels, and the punishment which they received for it, along with other divine judgments, as a warning example, that sinners; high in place, cannot escape the righteous judgment of God. And Judas could use this example *bona fide*, because, on the one hand, neither the readers of his letter, nor the gnosticizing Errorists, whom he would frighten with this example, doubted the truth of the Enoch legend; on the other hand, the essence of it, the fall of angels and their reservation in prison till the judgment day, has a biblical support and foundation. For although the Old Testament is silent on the fall of angels, it assumes this fall as an undoubted fact, in its doctrine concerning Satan, and teaches the punishment of wicked angels in Is. 24, 21—22, not merely by intimations, but with the specification, that this host of the high ones that are on high (i. e. the angels of heaven) and the kings of the earth are collected, bound together into the prison, and enclosed in bonds, and after many days will be punished. Here we have the Biblical source of the doctrine of the punishment of the sinning angels, both in the book of Enoch and the epistles of Peter and Jude. In mentioning this judgment, Peter did not go further (2, 2—4) than to introduce the *ἁμαρτάνων* of the angels,¹ Judas, on the other hand, considered it right to adopt the more particular account of this sin from the book of Enoch, in order, it may be, to attack the dangerous heretics who were cotemporary and around him, with the greater force. We conclude our treatise with the firm conviction, that the assertion of the letter of Jude cannot be considered of equal weight with that of the Lord, Matt. 22, 30, nor constitute a Norm for the interpretation of Gen. 6: 2.

¹ Huther (Comm. to the epistles of Peter and Jude p. 294) has remarked against those who have introduced the legend about fornication into 2 Peter 2. 4: "There is no hint here of the manner of the sin; different Jud. v. 6. Diellein thinks indeed, that in this there is a plain pointing to 1 Mos. 6: 2, because in the very next verse the flood is spoken of; but without the corresponding passage of Jude, a commentator would hardly have thought with the very general expression *ἁμαρτημάτων* that that special fact was thought of, not the fall into sin of the angels.

ARTICLE IV.

REMINISCENCES OF LUTHERAN CLERGYMEN.

JOHN HELFRICH SCHAUM.

"Remove not the ancient landmarks, which thy fathers have set."

"Our fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?" What a spectacle does our church in this country present, as the eye roams over its history from the beginning until the present time! We inquire for one and another, and the answer is, that the places, which once knew them, know them no more. Of our earlier ministers, who planted the standard of Lutheranism in this western hemisphere, not one remains! Our fathers have all passed away, and long since have gone up to render their final account. Their habitations are in the eternal world. They have finished their course on the earth. They rest from their labors, but their works do follow them. Influences, which they put in motion, will never die. They survive the dissolution of the body, and are imperishable. What they did for God lives, and will continue to live, when the memorial of the wicked has perished. "The name of the wicked shall rot." "I saw the wicked buried who had come and gone from the place of the holy, and they were forgotten in the city, when they had so done." "The memory of the just is blessed. The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."

There is a more than ordinary interest connected with the subject of our present narrative, from the fact that he was one of the first ministers, who immigrated to this country in our early history. His heart had been touched by the state of things, which existed among his countrymen in America. He burned with an ardent desire to do them good, to minister to their spiritual wants. Dr. Muhlenberg, justly regarded as the founder of the American Lutheran Church, reached these shores in 1742. He found the church in a most wretched condition. The great difficulty seemed to be the want of ministers and teachers, and in his correspondence with his brethren at Halle, he made the most earnest appeals for co-laborers in the work to which he had devoted himself. He writes: "The spiritual state of our people is so deplorable, as to cause us to

shed tears in abundance. The young people have grown up without instruction, and without any knowledge of religion, and are fast turning into heathenism." The ignorance among the youth seemed to distress him very much. Very few of them were able to read, and suitable teachers could not be procured. He himself found it necessary to give instruction in the most elementary branches. In a communication written the year after his arrival, he thus speaks: "Necessity has compelled me to become a teacher of children. One week I keep school in Philadelphia, the next in Providence, the third in New Hanover, and I think God's grace is visiting us. If affairs had remained a few years longer in the same state in which I found them, our poor Lutherans would have been scattered to the four winds, and suffered irretrievably. There are many persons who have never been baptized, and numerous systems of opinions fill the country. Atheists, Deists and Materialists are everywhere to be found. I think there is not a sect in the christian world, that has not followers here. You meet with persons from almost every nation in the world. God and his word are openly blasphemed, his ordinances neglected, and his worship is despised." These representations were not without effect, and in answer to repeated supplications for aid, a reinforcement to the field was received from Halle in 1745. The company consisted of Rev. Peter Brunnholtz and Messrs. J. N. Kurtz and J. H. Schaum. The latter two came in the capacity of *Catechets*, with the expectation of devoting their attention, for some time, to the business of teaching, and of thus removing an obstacle which impeded the progress of the gospel. They were also to perform some ministerial labor under the direction of the pastors. It was a part of our earlier system to connect the teacher, who was generally well educated and selected for his piety, with the minister, in all our congregations. Wherever there was a church, it was the practice of our fathers to plant a school. This was under the control of the church, and proved a most valuable auxiliary in the advancement of its interests. It was regarded as essential to furnish the children of the church, not only with secular instruction, but to make them acquainted with the principles and doctrines of our holy religion. They thought it important to secure the heart for God in the morning of life, whilst it was yet tender and easily susceptible of impressions—

"Dum faciles animi juvenum, dum mobilis ætas,"

before the mind was brought under the influence of prejudice, or was occupied with the cares of this life, and indurated by the power of sin, before the great enemy could sow the tares, and inflict an irreparable injury upon the human soul. Well had it been for us, if this practice had never been abandoned, if this system, peculiar to our own church, had never been surrendered! If a deeper concern were manifested in the youth of our church, and more earnest efforts put forth for their conversion to God, it is probable their interest in religious subjects would be greater. They would find it more difficult to wander from the fold; they would feel more disposed in their youthful days, to identify themselves with the people of God.

All that we know of Mr. Schaum's early life, is that he was born at Geissen, in Germany, and was the son of pious parents, who instructed their children, and strove to bring them up in the fear of God. His father was a genuine, warm-hearted christian, a teacher at Münchsholtzhausen, who, we infer from his correspondence with his son, was deeply interested in his school, and loved the work, in which he was engaged. His great concern seemed to be that God would enable him, by precept and by example, to train up properly for his kingdom, the youth entrusted to his care. The father frequently writes to his son, and evinces also a very tender regard for his welfare. He expresses for him the most affectionate interest, and seems to sympathize with him most deeply, in the trials and difficulties to which he was subject. We find among his letters, one addressed to the son at London, after his departure from the scenes of his youth, on his way to this country, in which reference is made to the deep sorrow, experienced by all his relatives and friends, on account of his separation from them, especially the incessant weeping of his mother, who appeared almost comfortless. The warm attachment manifested by his friends, and the grief felt in consequence of his removal, may be considered as strong evidences of his worth, and of the possession of those excellencies of character, which secured for him, in after life, the esteem of those with whom he was brought in contact. There is also a communication from the father still preserved, dated May 11th, 1746, in which the most interesting and judicious advice is given. He exhorts his son to be faithful, to resist the devil, not to be like Demas, to take the Scriptures as his guide, and particularly Paul's letters to Timothy.

The subject of our sketch, after passing through the preparatory training at home, was sent to the institutions at Halle,

and there enjoyed the counsels, instructions and personal intercourse of that man of God, Dr. Franke, whose name is so intimately connected with our early missionary operations in this country. Mr. Schaum was a student at the time the spiritual destitution in America excited so much attention at Halle. When the question was presented for his consideration, he found no difficulty in deciding that it was his duty to accept the call tendered him, and to engage in missionary labors among his brethren of the same faith in this distant land.

After a tedious and dangerous voyage, he reached this country in safety, January 26th, 1745, and was, with his colleagues, most cordially welcomed. He immediately commenced his duties as schoolmaster in Philadelphia. He took up his residence with pastor Brunnholtz, and on the Lord's day occasionally preached. We find him, soon after his arrival, also sent to Somerset, N. J., as a temporary supply, until the congregation, who had applied for a pastor to Dr. Ziegenhagen, through Messrs. Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz, could be gratified in their wishes. These brethren, in their letter to the congregation, designate Mr. Schaum as "one of their deacons," and say "that they have sent him to perform divine worship every Sabbath, and to teach the children for two months, according to their instructions." In the spring of 1747 he was commissioned to go to the Raritan, N. J., by pastors Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz, under whose care and direction the *Catechets* appear to have been placed, and the instructions given him on this occasion by these gentlemen, are interesting, and serve to give us some idea of the relations which this order in the ministry, at that day sustained, and of the manner in which public worship was conducted by our fathers. It is, in these instructions, distinctly stated, that he is sent as a *Diaconus*. He is directed to keep an exact and regular journal of his proceedings, and exhorted to be careful in his external conduct, and in his intercourse with the people, to converse on spiritual, rather than secular topics. The most minute directions are furnished as to the order in which the services of the sanctuary are to be performed. First, our form of Confession was to be read, to which nothing was to be added, and from which nothing was to be taken; 2, singing; 3, prayer; 4, reading of the epistle; 5, singing again, and well known hymns and tunes recommended; 6, reading of the gospel with the creed; 7, singing. This constituted the altar service. Then he is directed to go into the pulpit. 8, the sermon succeeds, which he is told to have well and thoroughly committed, so that there may be no stammering or repetition of words. It is also pro-

posed that the sermon should not occupy a longer space than a half hour; 9, after the sermon the liturgy was to be read; 10, the children were then to be called up and catechised. Every time they were to repeat something out of Luther's Catechism, and likewise some hymns. This service also, was not to consume more than a half hour. These instructions also authorize him to baptize children and to solemnize marriages, and strictly enjoin upon him the duty of instructing the young, and of guarding against speculation in worldly matters.

In reading the instructions given to Mr. Schaum for the performance of divine worship, one might be disposed to conclude that they were intended for the service of an Episcopal congregation. There was, however, in that day, considerable similarity in the public worship of the two churches. There were also other points of resemblance and strong affinities. In our early history there were the most friendly relations existing between the two denominations, and at all times there was evinced the kindest sympathy. The patriarch of the American Lutheran church, on one occasion attended, by special invitation, a convention of the Episcopal church, and was received with marked attention. In 1763, we find Rev. Messrs. Durkee, Peters, and Ingliss of the Episcopal church, present at the Synodical meeting of our church. By some, in that day, the opinion was entertained that a union ought to be effected; that in this country it was not desirable to perpetuate an English Lutheran church. The venerable Bishop White of Pennsylvania, went so far as to propose the reception of our ministers into the Episcopal church without requiring of them re-ordination. At a meeting of the Synod of North Carolina, held in the year 1821, a committee of the Episcopal church was in attendance, for the purpose of conferring on some plan by which friendly relations might be maintained between the respective churches. The result of this interview was, that any Lutheran minister should be entitled to a seat in the Episcopal convention of North Carolina, with the privilege of voting upon all subjects that did not specially appertain to the Episcopal church, and *vice versa*. The committee also offered to educate and prepare for the ministry, our ministers, gratuitously, at their seminary. We also find Rev. Dr. H. A. Muhlenberg regularly, once a month, officiating for the Episcopalians, in Reading, Pa. The following sentiments by Rev. Dr. Kunze, found in the preface of a volume of sermons published in 1797, although not very closely connected with our subject, will, at this day, be read with interest, and may be useful in

this permanent form. The fact that such an opinion prevailed, expressed by so high an authority, may afford some explanation of the disposition of so many of our earlier members to unite with the Episcopal church: "With the church of England, the Lutherans have, and ever had, a closer connection, than with others, owing to a more perfect similarity in church government, festival days, ceremonies, and even some particulars in doctrine. The Episcopal church, indeed, does not call itself after Luther's name: but even the church, called the Lutheran, has not that name by legal and public sanctions. In public acts it is called the evangelical church. Henry VIII. who began the reformation in England, had previously himself written a book against Luther, and was not able, after having changed his religious opinions, entirely to eradicate a deeply rooted animosity against an old antagonist, who in answering his book had only made use of the then common controversial style. But the Reformed church of England was afterwards, under Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, so modeled and modified, that it bore the nearest relation to the church established in Sweden, Denmark, Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, Wurtemberg, &c. The Lutherans have bishops, superintendents, seniors and inspectors. The thirty-nine articles fully agree with the Augustan confession, and every Lutheran can subscribe them. The two German chaplains at St. James' use a German translation of the English liturgy. The king of Great Britain, as a Lutheran, is the head of the church of Hanover, and one of his princes, on this account, is entitled to the bishopric of Osnaburg. At the accession of George the I., the agreement of both churches was, by a conference of English and German divines, investigated into, and pronounced to be as perfect as possible, which removed the doubts of this king, who is said to have declared, that he would not renounce his religion for a crown. The bishops of London, therefore, have never made a difficulty to ordain Lutheran divines, when called to congregations, which on account of being connected with English Episcopalians, made this ordination requisite. Thus by bishops of London the following Lutheran ministers were ordained—Bryselius, Peter Muhlenberg, Illing, Hauseal, and Wagner. The last mentioned was called after having obtained this ordination, to an Evangelical Lutheran congregation in the Margraviate of Anspach in Germany. For reasons obvious to some of the readers of these sheets, I have only to add, that I have these twenty-four years, that is, as long as I have instructed students of divinity for my church, uniformly and constantly held out this and no other language to them,

and that it was in consequence of this subsisting union, that the Evangelical Lutheran consistory, held at Rhinebeck on the first of September, 1797, entered the following resolution: 'That on account of an intimate connection subsisting between the English Episcopal and the Lutheran churches; and the identity of their doctrine and near alliance of their church discipline, this consistory will never acknowledge a newly erected Lutheran church, merely English, in places, where the members may partake of the service of the said English Episcopal church.'"

After this digression from our subject, we return to Mr. Schaum. Among his posthumous papers there is also a letter from Dr. G. A. Francke, a brother of the one better known to fame, dated Halle, July 25th, 1748, which in our limited material, may throw some light upon the subject of our sketch. He remarks that many letters from Pennsylvania had been lost, and consequently he had not heard from him as frequently as he desired. He is, however, pleased to learn from Mr. Brunnholtz, that he was faithful in the service of his Master, and obedient to the instructions given him. He urges him to labor as an instrument in the hands of God for the salvation of souls, and bids him to think that his own power is nothing. This, however, should not discourage him or depress his spirits; he should only be animated to increased fidelity—that was all, which God required. He likewise gives him other excellent advice, and tells him to suppress all inordinate affection for his native land, and to submit himself unconditionally to the will of God, that He may bestow his blessing.

In the spring of 1748 Mr. Schaum was sent to serve the congregation at York, Pa. "Here," the record says, "he was faithful in his public and private instructions, and God's favor was not withheld. He enjoyed the sincere love and confidence of the congregation." At a meeting of the Synod, held in Lancaster in 1749, he was permanently invested with the sacred office. He would have been ordained in connexion with Mr. Kurtz, the year preceding, but the distance of York from Philadelphia, where the Synod convened, and the difficulty, in that day, of communication, the time was postponed. Besides, it was desired that an opportunity might be furnished the congregation to become better acquainted with him, so as to be able to unite in his call. We find from the *Hallische Nachrichten*, that after his examination by Synod, and the preparation of his call, it was signed by the elders and deacons from York, from which we infer that the approval of the congregation he had been serving, was considered essential to his

ordination. In a communication to Halle, there is an interesting account given of the exercises connected with this occasion. In advance of the public services, the pastors and delegates of the congregation met at the parsonage, and proceeded, while the bells were ringing, in a body to the church, in the following order: 1. Rev. Mr. Handschuh, the pastor of the congregation, with his vestry. 2. Rev. Mr. Brunnholtz, Mr. Weiser,¹ and the delegates from Philadelphia and Germantown. 3. Dr. Muhlenberg, and the delegates from New Hanover and Providence. 4. Rev. Mr. Kurtz, and the deputies from Tulpehocken and Pikeland. 5. Mr. Schaum, and the deputies from York. A sermon was preached by Dr. Muhlenberg, at the request of his colleagues, on the *Marriage Feast*, after which all those present stood in a semi-circle around the altar, and were witnesses and associates in prayer whilst Mr. Schaum was ordained. The Lord's Supper was then administered, and the morning service concluded. In the afternoon Mr. Kurtz officiated. At night Dr. Muhlenberg was obliged to preach for the English, inasmuch as they were without a pastor, and earnestly desired the exercise. He was always willing to perform services in the English language, when an opportunity of doing good was presented. The next day, the pastors and delegates went again to the church, and heard a discourse from Mr. Schaum. In the afternoon a conference was held, and the improvement of the congregations discussed.

Mr. Schaum remained in York seven years. Here he was called to encounter difficulties, and to pass through various trials; a part of his congregation left him, and employed as their minister, an individual who was not a member of the Synod.

"Assailed by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only armor was, a blameless life.
And he who forged, and he who threw the dart,
Had each a brother's interest in his heart."

His church was, however, well attended, and he was sustained and encouraged by the more pious part of the congregation. Dr. Muhlenberg, in a communication written in 1754, says: "I have been confidently informed, Mr. Schaum has still his church crowded, full of hearers, and receives adequate support, though a portion of his members has separated, and taken

¹ Celebrated in the Colonial annals of Pennsylvania, as confidential Indian interpreter and magistrate of the province. One of his daughters was married to Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, the founder of our church in this country, another to Rev. Mr. Heintzelman, one of our earlier ministers, who came hither in 1751.

for their pastor a young man formerly connected with the public school."

He was likewise a physical sufferer; his health was impaired, and he could not regularly serve his congregation, yet he maintained a cheerful frame of mind, and seemed happy in the midst of his afflictions. He was not disturbed by the clouds and storms which gathered around him. He knew that his father was at the helm, and would conduct him in safety through the journey of life; that all the dispensations of God's providences would work out for him a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. In all his difficulties he had the sympathy of kind friends. A consolatory epistle from Rev. J. N. Kurtz, written in 1753, suggests six reasons for patience under his affliction: 1. We deserve much more. 2. Suffering in the flesh tends to break the power of sin. 3. Though the outward man decays, the inner is renewed. 4. Our humility, purity, and other christian graces are strengthened. 5. Sufferings of our Savior. 6. Trial of ourselves.

During his residence at York, Mr. Schaum carried on frequent and extensive correspondence with his brethren in the ministry. Many letters are still in the hands of surviving friends from Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handschuh, Kurtz, Gerock, Fabricius and others, breathing a most delightful spirit, and worthy of the christian character which our earlier ministers in this country sustained. They may also be considered as proofs of the affection, with which he was cherished and the lively interest taken in his welfare. The following letter, which he received from pastor Hartwick, that good but eccentric man, whose character has recently awakened some attention, we think will be read with pleasure. To the antiquarian in the church it possesses some value:

PHILADELPHIA 27th October, 1754.

My dearly beloved

Fellow-laborer and brother:

God forbid that the deprivation of personal intercourse for so long a time, should have put an end to the love and friendship which we formerly cherished for one another, or since have been under mutual obligations to entertain! That this has not been the case on my part, let the present letter and the accompanying document be the proof. Report has told me of the many and severe trials you have met with, since we saw each other the last time. I have sympathized with you in your affliction, as I have also rejoiced on account of the divine assistance granted you. I

have no doubt that you have heard of my circumstances, which are, for the most part, of an unpleasant nature, and that you have sympathized with me, and remembered me at the throne of grace. I must, however, praise the compassion of the Lord, whose hand not only smites, but also heals, who not only brings down to the grave, but also raises up. I have so corrupt and incorrigible a congregation, that I could not endure it any longer, and the Lord has been so generous as to enable me to occupy a new congregation, and with it a considerable portion of excellent land. Inasmuch, therefore, as I intend to use my exertions to remove, as far as possible, the inconveniences with which, as pastors and people, we are obliged to contend in this country, I desire to have the accompanying advertisement made public, and request you, therefore, dear brother, for the benefit of poor evangelical brethren, to make it known in as many public places as you can, which your love does not permit me to doubt you will do; and I will endeavor to return the favor at every opportunity.

I have heard that my dear brother has changed his condition as a widower, and in hope that the matter has turned out to your satisfaction, I offer you my hearty congratulations. May God pour out upon you richly, all temporal and spiritual blessings. Also be pleased to present my kindest compliments to your wife.

In conclusion, I commend myself to your fraternal affection and prayers, and you to the divine support, protection and deliverance, and request you to ascribe my illegible and confused letter to the infirmity of my mind and body, as I am still suffering from the effects of my recent sickness. For my own part, I assure you that I am, and remain, my dear fellow-laborer,

Your devoted brother,

J. C. HARTWICK.*

In 1755, Mr. Schaum received and accepted a call to Tohickon and congregations in the vicinity. In the year 1759, we find him living at New Hanover (the Swamp) and preaching at Oley, Pikeland and Upper Dublin, and likewise assisting Dr. Muhlenberg every four weeks at Providence (the Trappe). Subsequently he preached at other points. All our ministers at that day had a large circuit, and their labors, in many respects, resembled those of an itinerant bishop. They preached in season and out of season, in churches, in private

* The orthography we have given of his name, is the same that he has adopted in his letter. Sometimes he wrote it *Hartwig*.

dwellings, in barns and in the open air, wholly devoted to the work to which they believed they had been called, and earnestly laboring for the spiritual improvement of their countrymen and the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. In this region of country he labored acceptably till the close of his life. January 26th, the anniversary of his arrival in this country, just thirty-three years before, the subject of our sketch committed his departing spirit to the sure-keeping of the great Redeemer, and animated by a bright and joyful hope, peacefully fell asleep in the hope of the resurrection of the just. His remains quietly repose near the church which witnessed his labors. His memory is still cherished by the descendants of those who sat under his ministry, and traditional accounts preserved of his usefulness. "Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations, ask thy father and he will show thee, thy elders and they will tell thee."

From all that we have been able to gather, we infer that Mr. Schaum was a good man, exercising the faithful shepherd's watchful care over his flock, and wholly devoted to the work of the ministry. His love for every thing good, his interest in the salvation of the soul, his industry and zeal, his intrepidity in danger, and confidence in God, his humility and submission to the Divine will, were prominent in his life, and produced the most favorable impression. He was rather retiring in his nature, and perhaps even grave, but he was friendly to all, and easily accessible. His genial spirit and inoffensive conduct inspired the confidence of the brethren. Those who knew him best, considered him a Nathaniel, in whom there was no guile. We suppose from the portrait, that he was a man of mild, equable disposition and gentle character, with a warm, benevolent heart, shedding sunshine and happiness upon all who came within the circle of his influence. He rejoiced in the companionship of the wise and good. His life was emphatically a life of severe and constant labor, as was that of all the patriarchs of our church. Yet he never complained. His trust was in God. He earnestly prayed for the divine presence, and confidently looked for the promised aid.

His last days were gladdened by the love of his people and the respect of the community. He had the satisfaction of knowing that he had not lived in vain. He could look with comfort to the past, and anticipate with confidence the rewards of the future. As the earth was receding from his sight, he had higher joys than any thing earthly could yield, the joys of a humble christian faith, and of a triumphant hope of a blessed immortality. He knew that if his "earthly house of this

tabernacle were dissolved," he had "a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

CHRISTOPHER EMANUEL SCHULTZE.

Just twenty years after the arrival of Mr. Schaum, the subject of the present narrative reached our shores. During this period the character of our church had greatly improved. Many excellent men, educated at Halle, had been added to the ranks of the ministry, our scattered members had been gathered together, houses of worship, in different places erected, and our prospects seemed most encouraging. The position of the Lutheran church had been greatly strengthened, its influence was felt; our clergymen had secured the confidence and regard of their cotemporaries, their services in the community were universally appreciated. But the great impediment, at this time, to our progress, was the paucity of ministers. The supply was not yet adequate to the demand. The number of laborers did not increase with the growth of the population, from the fact that we were almost entirely dependent for accessions upon foreign aid. We had no facilities for educating young men in our own land, for the sacred office. Those who desired to prepare for the work, were compelled to go to Europe to obtain the necessary preparation. Dr. Muhlenberg, from the very beginning, saw the disadvantage under which we were laboring, and warmly advocated the necessity of establishing a literary and theological institution, that the church might be supplied with an educated ministry. Dr. Freylinhausen says: "Mr. M. has often expressed his earnest desire that the vast and increasing multitude of German Lutherans in North America might be better provided for in regard to religious instruction. He is convinced that the present arrangements are inadequate, and that a Seminary ought to be established, to train up laborers to publish the doctrines of the Gospel. But the greater part of our congregations are burdened with debt, are unable to contribute to such an enterprise." Under the circumstances, our people necessarily turned to their transatlantic brethren for help in their destitution. Their application was generally forwarded to the brethren at Halle, who had from the beginning shown an earnest interest in their countrymen who, far away from their native land, were inadequately furnished with the means of grace. The imploring cry was not always uttered in vain. Often were young men, in a course of preparation for the gospel ministry, directed to look at this field of labor, white for the harvest, and to inquire whether it was not their duty to occupy it. One and another,

we have seen, did take the subject into serious and prayerful consideration. Moved with a feeling of compassion, and imbued with the missionary spirit, they were willing to forsake the comforts of home, the endearments of society, to make any sacrifice, and to submit to any toil, that they might subserve the cause of Christ, and be instrumental in the salvation of souls. Their energetic devotion to the principles they professed, their faithful and self-denying efforts for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, beautifully illustrate their christian character, and furnish unequivocal proof of their qualifications for the work in which they longed to engage. Mr. Schultze was a student at Halle, when these pathetic appeals for help were again and again made. The reports of the spiritual destitution which existed, produced a strong impression upon his mind. He immediately inquired "Lord what wilt thou have me to do?" The result was, that he determined in the name of his Master, to relinquish all the advantages and prospects which offered at home, and to consecrate himself to the important and responsible work of declaring the truths of the Gospel in this western world. As soon as his studies were completed, he made his preparations to join his brethren, who had preceded him to this country.

Mr. Schultze was born January 25th, 1740, at Probstrell, in Saxony. His parents were John Andrew and Amelia Schultze, who had brought up their son in the fear of God, and instructed him in the principles of the christian religion. Having received the necessary elementary instruction, he entered the celebrated Frederick College at Halle. With this institution he remained connected for five years, when he became a member of the Orphan House, for the purpose of qualifying himself more fully for the ministry of reconciliation. The influences exerted over him here were most salutary. He caught the spirit that prevailed. His faith was strengthened, his heart animated with a love for souls, and a desire to be useful. During the summer of 1765 he was ordained by the Consistorium at Wernigerode, and immediately commenced his journey to this country. He arrived in Philadelphia the following October, and was at once chosen second minister of St. Michael's church, of which Dr. Muhlenberg was at the time senior pastor. His opportune arrival obviated the necessity of a division of the congregation, the propriety of which had been, for some time, in agitation, as the duties were considered too onerous for one man. There were no less than seven hundred families connected with the church; requiring pastoral care and atten-

tion. Mr. Schultze continued to labor with his colleague for several years, most harmoniously, in building up our church in Philadelphia, and in advancing the interests of Christ's kingdom. The following year was laid the corner-stone of Zion's church, which was dedicated to the Triune God, June 26th, 1769. This was considered, at the time, the largest and most elegant church in the United States. This same edifice, during our Revolutionary war, when Philadelphia was in possession of the British, was converted into a hospital for the sick. To this church, also, Congress, in a body, repaired to express their grateful acknowledgments to Almighty God, for the victory achieved, and the peace secured, on the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

In the spring of 1769, Mr. Schultze was chosen Vice-Rector of the Philadelphia congregations, with the promise, that after Dr. Muhlenberg's death, he should be the Senior. His appointment to this office, which was created in consequence of the frequent absence of the senior pastor from the city, on business connected with the general interests of the church, may be regarded as an evidence of the high esteem in which he was held, as well by his venerable colleague, as by the members of the congregation. After a residence of five years in Philadelphia, he received and accepted a call to Tulpehocken. Here he lived and labored for thirty-eight years, enjoying the affection of his congregation, and with the blessing of God resting upon his labors. Frequently he was solicited to take charge of other churches, but he declined every invitation, believing that it was his duty to remain in the position he was occupying. On Dr. Muhlenberg's removal to the Trappe, in 1784, an effort was made to get him to return to Philadelphia; he was elected pastor, by a large majority of votes, over the other candidates; but after a careful consideration of the subject, he concluded that he could not accept the call. On the occasion of his visit to the city in advance of his decision, Dr. Helmuth writes: "Mr. Schultze, to the extreme joy of all, made us a visit. I spent the forenoon of to-day in his company, and tried to convince him that he should accept the call of the Philadelphia congregation. His only objection seems to be the humble feeling of his incompetency, which is certainly an indication of a true disciple of Christ. In the afternoon, the vestry of the church met for the purpose of welcoming him to their midst." That the congregation did not submit to his refusal with the best grace, we infer from the following communication, dated June 5th, 1785, in the *Hal-lische Nachrichten*: "Our Synod held its annual meeting late-

ly in Philadelphia, when Rev. Mr. Schultze honored us with a visit, which was not, however, so very acceptable, as he declined the call given him by our congregation."

Mr. Schultze's labors at Tulpehocken are said to have been "indefatigable and successful." His duties were discharged with the most conscientious fidelity and unwearied application. A letter to Halle, written in 1782, refers to him in the following language: "Mr. Schultze is now, for the second time, President of the *Ministerium*. Besides his principal congregation at Tulpehocken, he attends to several other smaller ones. It is almost impossible, on account of the multiplicity of his official duties, to be a single day at home with his large family, but notwithstanding, he is yet active and vigorous, and is able to endure labor and fatigue. Every year he instructs a large number of young persons in the principles of the christian religion, and receives them into the church."

Mr. Schultze's health began gradually to decline, and his physical infirmities to increase. He continued, however, to perform divine service, although he was often so feeble as to require assistance in ascending the pulpit steps. On the Lord's day preceding his death, being too much prostrated to walk to the church, near which he lived, he preached in the parsonage. This was the last time he was permitted to break to his people the word of eternal life. From this period he became more debilitated, and anticipated his speedy dissolution. On Saturday, March 9th, 1809, he put off his armor, and finished his course, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He gently passed away, humbly resting his head upon the bosom of Him, who was crucified for his sins. Jesus was his hope; washed in his blood, justified by his righteousness, sanctified by his grace, he had peace with God. In the presence of an immense concourse of sorrowing friends, he was, on the following Wednesday, interred in the cemetery attached to the church in which he had so often dispensed the symbols of the Savior's love among the people of God, and urged them forward in the discharge of their christian duties, by the hopes and consolations of the Gospel. An appropriate discourse, on the occasion of the funeral, was delivered by Rev. Dr. Lochman, from the words, "If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be; if any man serve me, him will my Father honor."

Mr. Schultze was married the year after his arrival in this country, to Eve Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Muhlenberg, a woman calculated to make him happy and increase his usefulness, to whom he was most tenderly attached; her death oc-

curing a few months before, is supposed to have hastened his own end. From this marriage there were nine children, four of whom survived their father. His son John Andrew, for several years, filled the gubernatorial chair of Pennsylvania. A portion of the library which belonged to the subject of our sketch, was recently, through the kindness of the heirs, presented to Pennsylvania College. The collection contains some rare and excellent volumes, principally in the German language, which are regarded as a valuable contribution to the library of the institution.

It is the concurrent testimony, that Mr. Schultze was a man of devoted, fervent and practical piety; he was earnest, zealous, and faithful in the work to which he had devoted himself. None ever doubted the sincerity of his intentions, or the integrity of his character. His blameless life gave a lustre and a value to his teachings from the sacred desk. He possessed a kind heart and warm affections. His benevolence was active and unfailing. It was his constant aim to do good. From this purpose he could not be diverted by any other pursuit.

"He watch'd and wept, he prayed and felt for all.
And as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds and led the way."

His life was devoted to Christ and to the service of the church. The industry, self-denial, and unabated interest with which he devoted himself to his duties as a christian minister, were seen and known by all. He was amply compensated for his sacrifices and toils, in the unfeigned regard and increasing confidence of the community, and an extended career of usefulness, the results of which it is impossible to estimate. He enjoyed in a high degree the love of his brethren in the ministry. He exerted a considerable influence in the ecclesiastical body with which he was connected. He was frequently elected to offices of honor and trust in the church, and died the Senior of the Synod of Pennsylvania. Long years must pass away before his beloved memory and blessed labors will be forgotten. We cannot, perhaps, more appropriately conclude our brief sketch of this servant of God, than by giving a few extracts from the obituary discourse delivered on the occasion of his death. In referring to the important and responsible office with which he was invested, and the satisfactory discharge of his duties, says Dr. Lochman: "He was commissioned to call sinners to repentance and faith in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and earnestly and faithfully did he

fulfil the commission. He was commissioned to commend to sinners the wonderful love of God in Christ Jesus, and fervently did he do it. He was commissioned to comfort the sorrowing, to strengthen the weak, to build up the faithful, and this also he joyfully executed. You must all testify that during the thirty-eight years he lived with you, as your minister, he labored faithfully and conscientiously for your good. You never summoned him in vain to the performance of any difficult duty, when it was at all possible for him to serve you. By day and by night, in cold and in heat, in sunshine and rain, he ministered to you without any complaint. He frequently appeared in your churches when many of you, in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, were afraid to venture away from your own firesides. Even when old age came upon him, he desired to devote his feeble powers to the service of God. When his flesh was weak, his spirit was still willing. In fidelity, industry and zeal, few have surpassed him. He might truly, with the apostle of the Gentiles, have said, 'In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things, that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.' To many did he make known the way of salvation; many he instructed in the doctrines of christianity; many he warned of sin and of the wrath to come; many he directed to the path of virtue, and to the Savior of the world. In the joy which is found with Christ, he meets these, who thank him for his services. O how insignificant do all the toils and sufferings of this life now appear to him! How he rejoices in his God, whose face he now sees, whose society he enjoys! How he rejoices as his Father honors him openly, in the presence of redeemed spirits, and what pleasure he experiences, as he beholds and embraces those who preceded him to this world of bliss! Finally, I would impress upon your hearts the words of Paul in his letter to the Hebrews: 'Remember those which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.' It seems that several teachers of the Gospel among the Hebrews had died, and that Paul desired those who used to listen to them, to remember both the teachers and the word which they taught. 'This, dear brethren, should you also do! Your teacher who served you so

long, has been called away. You will hear him preach no more, but you can remember him and the sermons which he preached to you. O yes! hold him in affectionate remembrance, and often consider the instructions, the admonitions, the warnings and the consolations, which he gave you. Remember the good and profitable teachings you received from him, both before and at your confirmation. Frequently recall to your mind the services of the sanctuary, the discourses you heard him preach. Remember the words of comfort he spake to you in your hour of need, and in the time of sickness. As often as you revisit his tomb, bring to mind his instructions and admonitions. Renew your resolutions, and strive to keep them! Then the God of peace will be with you, and you will enjoy the blessedness of again being united with your pastor in the realms of peace."

ARTICLE V.

PASTORAL LETTER.

The following translation of a manuscript letter of the venerable Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, will constitute an acceptable addition to the valuable biographies which precede it. Its historic is not its only interest. Exhibiting the spirit in which the Fathers of our church labored, it furnishes useful lessons to the sons. *O si sic omnes!* EDITOR.

IN THE NAME OF GOD!—AMEN!

Co-laborer Schaum

and beloved brother in Christ:—

We are compelled to send you to Raritan, and to recall our dear brother Kurtz. Inasmuch as Raritan is one of those posts in which it is necessary to ask from God, and use all possible wisdom and prudence, if we do not wish our church to be injured, we send with you the following instructions, dictated by genuine and disinterested affection:

1. You go forth in the capacity of a Diaconus, or servant of Christ. Permit us, therefore, earnestly to recommend for your study and assimilation into succum and sanguinem, the epistles to Timothy and Titus, and show yourself to be really

such an one, in doctrine and life, in prayer, self-denial and watchfulness.

2. In your external conduct, be thoughtful and circumspect, in every relation; in conversation, in preaching and other official duties, inasmuch as you have persons gazing upon you from all sides. Should you offend in doctrine, or life, or in the discharge of your official duties, the report of it would be heard in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, as well as Holland and Germany, and we ourselves, and our worthy superintendents, be deeply grieved. *Lupus enim in fabula.*

3. We request you to keep an accurate and continuous journal, during your absence, of the occurrences of each day, and of your official acts, and to present it to us on your return; and occasionally, in the interval, when favorable opportunities offer from Raritan, to send us a written account of your circumstances.

4. Observe unalterably the following method in the discharge of the official duties:

a. In public worship, begin with our usual Confession. Take nothing from it, add nothing thereto.

b. Let the congregation then sing:—

Allein Gott in der Höh'; or,

Nun bitten wir den Heil'gen Geist.

c. Offer up the petition: *Schaff' in uns Gott ein reines Herz*, or some other short scriptural prayer; afterwards read the Epistle.

d. Give out the principal hymn, selecting such as are well known, and tunes with which the congregation are familiar, otherwise confusion will arise.

e. Read the Gospel, and repeat the Creed without explanation.

f. The congregation then can sing:—

Liebster Jesu sq., or

Herr Jesu Christ dich zu sq.

During the singing of the hymn, go upon the pulpit.

With reference to the preaching, be pleased—

1. Not to make use of any long original prayers, as introductory to your discourse, for they give rise to repetitions, consume time, and distract the attention.

2. You should have the discourse well and completely committed to memory, and entirely at your command, so that you may be able to deliver it deliberately, without stammering,

and without the repetition of the same words. Do not forget, deliberately, and in the affectionate intonations of a loving pastor.

3. The sermon ought, and must not be longer than a half an hour, as in addition to this, the prayers consume some time. You can determine the time by your watch.

4. After the sermon is ended, read the Liturgy with a deliberate enunciation, and do not forget to pray for our gracious Majesty, George the 2d.

5. After the close of the services, call up the youth of your charge, and each time allow them to recite one of the divisions of Luther's Catechism, and also our Glaubens-Lied. This instruction of the children should not last more than half an hour.

6. We give you authority to baptize children in the congregation, when it is desired. You must not, however, perform the baptismal ceremony, in words suggested at the time, but proceed strictly in accordance with our Agenda, except that you may omit the Exorcism, or the abjuration of evil spirits.

7. When persons desire the publication of the bans, and to be united in marriage, you must first inquire of the deacons and elders, whether the applicants belong to the congregation; and not perform the ceremony, until the publication has been made, with the consent of the deacons, for three successive Sundays, and no objections have been presented.

8. It will be your chief and most necessary duty, each succeeding week, to instruct the children of the congregation; for this is a matter of great importance, and is pleasing to the congregation.

9. Seriously beware of land speculations, secret marriage engagements, the purchase of horses, watchês, and of exchanging of any kind. The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life do not slumber; and it is a shame when we youthful heroes fall before such enemies. * * *

10. In conversation with others, it is more necessary to converse about our spiritual warfare, spiritual enemies and conflicts, than about worldly affairs; for we do not understand, *Corpus politicum*, therefore it is true here also: *Si tacuisses, philosophus mansisses*. May we only be good combatants for Jesus Christ.

11. We cannot yet determine absolutely, when you shall return; we will therefore write when it is necessary.

We hope you will be a sweet savor, and a pattern to the Raritan people. The Lord our God prosper your way, and

cause you to be a great blessing, whilst absent; and may you return again with a contented heart.

We commend you to God, and the word of his grace.

Written with the approbation of pastor

PETER BRUNNHOLTZ,

BY

H. MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG.

PROVIDENCE, *April 2, 1747.*

ARTICLE VI.

PARABLE OF THE PHARISEE AND PUBLICAN.

Luke 18: 9—13.

The design of this parable is made known by its great author, and therefore we can neither doubt its general import, nor neglect in its explanation, the guide which he has afforded us. It was spoken, according to our version, "unto certain which trusted in themselves, that they were righteous, and despised others." The purpose may be expressed, with some modification, by a closer adherence to the original, in the words: "concerning, or in reference to some who trusted," &c. In the days of our Savior, there was a religious type, which, resulting from powerful tendencies of the human heart, has often re-appeared, characterized by great self-complacency, and depreciation of others, an over estimate of self, and an under estimate of others.

No state of mind can be more objectionable, and none of worse portent, than this. It is guilty of a double wrong; it imposes upon itself, and it fails in charity to its fellow. Starting with no well founded pretensions to true holiness, it conjures them into existence, and testing men by a false standard, it condemns what God honors. It is not surprising, therefore, that our Lord directed his attention specially to its counteraction, and amongst the other methods adopted by him to effect a radical cure, invented and uttered the beautiful and instructive parable, whose title is derived from the actors who are introduced to illustrate his principles—the parable of the Pharisee and Publican.

The design of the Savior is, to show the difference between true and false religion, and in doing so, to expose the empty

pretensions of those who, reposing confidence in themselves, discard those who repose confidence in God. There is a true and a false worship of God, there are hopes which have, and there are hopes that have not a true foundation, and for us it is all important, to know what will sustain us in the hour of need, and what, at best, is but a broken reed. That we may be instructed on these points, and escape the shipwreck of Pharisaism, whilst we attain the haven of true godliness—let us turn our attention to the nature of true religion, as it is presented by an infallible teacher in the parable before us.

If we consider the parable a sacred drama, the persons of the drama being the pharisee and the publican, the first will perform the part, and so that no one can object to its completeness, of the false religionist, or will show, whilst performing before us, the true lineaments of an insufficient religion. The other, with equal perfection, will show how it is that human passions are affected, and how they display themselves in the mien and the deportment, when true piety has taken possession of the soul. Before the curtain drops, and just when the whole scene passes away from our eyes, we will discover the catastrophe in the condemnation of the one, and the acceptance of the other.

That it may be seen more particularly what is wrong and what is right in religion, we will point out the agreements and the differences of those worshippers, for worshippers they were, or appeared to be, and then we will see what was the result. In tracing the resemblance between them, it may be noticed, that they were both rational creatures of God, and consequently capable of ascertaining his existence, understanding his revelation, and rendering homage to him. Knowledge of the great author of all things, in whom we live, move, and have our being, is the prerogative of rational creatures, and cannot be predicated of animated existence, however perfect its physical organization, and wonderful its instincts, which is destitute of this divine light. This knowledge is our special prerogative, our greatest glory, that by which, in all our deterioration, we retain a resemblance to the greatest being in the universe, we should honor it in ourselves, and honor it in others, and whilst we regard it as matter for just pride, it ought to awaken sincerest gratitude to him whose gift it is, and it should ever be associated with a lively sense of our responsibility to him who, although he has dispensed it as a free gift, holds us accountable for the use we make of it. It involves a tremendous responsibility, and we to him whose stewardship of this treasure is marked by unfaithfulness, in a land of gospel light;

a double *wo* awaits him who useth this gift for the glory of self, and not for the glory of God. How few reflect upon the solemnity of their endowments, and rightly appreciate the obligations which those endowments entail upon them.

These worshippers were alike the objects of the divine love. It is nothing more than finds the firmest warrant to regard human beings, all alike, whether viewed from the light of nature, or the clearer light of revelation, as embraced in that love, the expressions of which are arrangements and dealings adapted to promote happiness. Whatever differences there may be amongst men in their intellectual endowments, in their physical appearance and structure, in their external locality and condition, God who has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, regards them as his children, and his benefactions have respect to the entire race, as his special beneficiaries. This truth, so well ascertained, and which is so reasonable in itself, may be regarded as the best corrective of that dissatisfaction with our condition, and that tendency to murmur, which, unhappily, so often appear in our world. And though events may sometimes seem to militate against it, and our limited knowledge may be unable to discover the proper method of reconciling the one with the other, a properly regulated mind will always acquiesce and feel satisfied that mystery which human reason cannot solve, needs but to await the decision, in order to its perfect commencement. Worshippers throng the house of God, they come before Jehovah's throne of grace, they sit to receive the messages of his love, and though there may be, and there will be, a vast variety of shades of difference in minor matters, they are all identified in the welcome which is afforded them to the provisions for happiness which God's hand has made. Alike too, were they, in their need of divine mercy. Both were transgressors of God's holy law; both had exposed themselves to God's curse; both were cut off from hope, save through the mercy of God. It is an undeniable truth, just as evident in the history of man, as it is in the revelation of God, that all men, as sinners, need God's mercy. Mercy, whose function it is to confer favors, spiritual blessings on the undeserving, whose employment consists in forgiveness and salvation, how necessary for man, how blind they who cannot see it, how wise they who know and respect it. In this one word is embraced all that we need, all that we should seek, and all that God can give. It was mercy that planned human redemption, that spoke in the accents of the Savior, that pleads with us in the Gospel. It is mercy that protects us day by day. It is mercy that guides us in the

right path. It is mercy that leads us to the heavenly Canaan. It should not, however, be forgotten, that the need, and the sense of the need, are not the same. Most true is it, that our necessities and our demands are not always parallel, and that which would be most profitable, is least desired. Often in the journey of life, is our thirst directed to unsatisfying fountains, whilst for refreshing and life-giving waters we have no appetite.

With these points of unity, these men agree in repairing to and treading God's earthly courts. They recognize in a greater or less degree, God's claims upon the reverence and homage of the children of men. Neither gives sanction by what he says or does, to the skepticism, or infidelity which doubts, or disbelieves, which asks, what is God that he should be worshipped, or what shall we have from praying to him?

In looking at the points of resemblance between these representatives of classes, we see a picture of our religious assemblies. The eye passes over the whole, from one to another; how much are they alike, and how natural the conclusion that as there are so many points of contact, face answering to face, so must heart to heart. Alas! that it should be otherwise, that with so many points of resemblance, there should be so great a difference. We proceed to point out the difference between these worshippers. The difference between them, notwithstanding the resemblance, was very great. Twins in their birthright and privileges, they were not so in their views and dispositions. Recognizing a common Father, and seeking a common destiny, they seem to travel together, but their routes are not the same. In indicating points of difference, it may be mentioned that they differed in regard to the attributes of the being whom they addressed in their prayer. Very unlike must have been their conceptions of the holiness and mercy of the great God. This is easily to be inferred, from the language they employed. The pharisee stood, and prayed thus with himself: "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess." Of the other it is said: "And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, crying, God be merciful to me a sinner." Both addressed God, but the difference was very great. The pharisee, in the usual posture of prayer, and confining his utterance to himself, expresses his indebtedness to God for his exemption from odious vices, which he regards his fellow-men as practicing. He asserts his superiority, not only to them, but to the individual who, although not closely in contact with him, was

nevertheless in his view. A stranger to him most probably, at any rate utterly incognisant of his spiritual condition, he claims to be his superior. He further develops his religious pretensions, by boasting of his fasts, and of his donations, extending to a tenth of his income. Although it is not affirmed that this man had any particular views of the attributes of him on whom he called, it is evident that with such conceptions of his own moral excellence, such a revelling in his religious superiority, he could neither have known himself nor others, and must have had far from adequate knowledge of that God who, perfect in holiness, is rich in mercy. It is undeniable, that just in proportion as we have enlarged ideas of the moral purity of God, of his aversion to sin, and his love of holiness, of the extent and spirituality of his law, will we be delivered from feelings of pride and self-sufficiency, be disposed to humble ourselves, and to regard with tenderness, those who are in the like condemnation with ourselves. It is when we think aright of our moral condition, that we are prepared to understand our wretchedness and misery, and to know that if any relief can be afforded, adequate to our wants, it must originate in a goodness combined with omniscience and omnipotence, on which we can have no claim. All that we can render, must fall so far short of what God is entitled to receive, that it cannot be made the foundation of further favors, but must leave dependant on the provisions of compassion. No man could make such a prayer as that which is recorded of the pharisee, who knew God in his holiness and mercy, or if such attributes were regarded as pertaining to him, they must have been modified in his conceptions, into forms utterly irreconcilable with the truth. The holiness which can be satisfied with such purity as this self-sufficient worshipper paraded, would not pass muster in any respectable judicatory; it would scarcely attain a respectable heathen sanction, and the mercy which could respond to such mock pretensions, would be difficult to discriminate from perfect arbitrariness. No injustice can be done to the class whose spokesman is before us, when it is alleged concerning them, that they know not how holy is that God whom they pretend to worship, and how jealous of his honor, and observant of the interests of his creatures, when he displays towards them his forgiving love.

Very different is the publican, the odious to the Jew, on account of his employment of collecting the revenues, tax-gatherer. He stood afar off, neither occupying the place of the most favored, nor pressing into close contiguity to the most holy place, and in every movement, indicated his deep

self-abasement, and the sincere repentance which was pervading his heart. His eyes were not lifted up to heaven, he felt his unworthiness to turn his look to the pure Jehovah, he shows the anguish of his heart in the smiting of his breast, and his sense of his perishing condition, in the entreaty, God be merciful to me a sinner. Thou, who canst be just and yet pardon, who hast revealed thyself as merciful, through a typified mediator, who, in the fulness of time, puts away sin by the sacrifice of himself, cast me not away from thy presence, and graciously remit my numerous and aggravated offences. Is it not clear that this man had in his mind a Being of infinite holiness and boundless mercy, does not the anguish which he feels on account of his sins, reveal his sentiments of the holiness of the Most High, and his most importunate petition for mercy, show that this he regarded as most needed by him, and, at the same time, as the brightest jewel in the divine diadem? No forced inferences are made, when we claim these representations as true, and we may boldly give our sanction to the belief that a vast difference existed between these men, in regard to their views of the holiness and mercy of the great object of their homage. The views which they entertained concerning themselves, was another important point of difference, particularly in regard to their obligations and their fulfilment. That there was, in both, evidence that the claims of conscience were not unheeded, the extent to which it made demands of them, and the measure of their completion, were not by any means the same. The man who, with a depraved heart, and the constant manifestation of sinful desires and affections, whose life, though free from gross crime, is tarnished with incessant deviations from strict moral purity, can nevertheless pass in retrospect and comment upon his character, at the very moment when he is inviting the inspection of the searcher of hearts, with unmingled complacency, with no word of condemnation, with marked expressions of gratitude for exalted and unequalled virtue, cannot be regarded as very clear in the range of human obligations, or the homage which he has practically rendered to them. When such a man is compared with another, who with unaffected humility, pours forth a wail over his moral delinquencies, who writes bitter things against himself, because he considers himself all over unclean, whilst there may have been no difference, or an exceedingly slight one, and in God's impartial estimate, it could not have been great, we cannot but suppose that here duty is graduated on a different scale, and that convictions in regard to its performance, have other measurements.

In another respect did they differ in their feelings. Whether the feelings which they exercised centred in themselves or in God, they were very much unlike. The one is wrapped up in the highest feelings of self-satisfaction, his self-gratulation is extreme. His secret history, as it passes in review, makes his heart to throb with lively emotions of satisfaction, and he exults over himself as a model man. The great Creator has many rational beings enjoying the bounties of his providence, and receiving the ministrations of his grace, but he can find none who can enter the lists with him, and bear off the palm of a more perfect manhood. Revelling over his exalted virtues, he becomes so entranced by his excellencies, that he fancies he walks in a region unfrequented by his kind; he is not as other men, God be thanked, and far different from that specimen of humanity, which seemed to be entitled to some respect, because it appeared in the sanctuary, doing honor to its creator, the sin-sick and contrite publican. For God there were no feelings of homage. Any correct decision must pronounce that there was no reverence, godly fear, adoration or true praise. No sense of the excellency of God, which maketh his worshippers afraid. No filial confidence which reposes itself on the bosom of the Father. No humble submission, which speaks in the language, thy will be done. No docility which desires to be directed in the way in which it should go. The publican, in every movement, expresses emotion, and when it is analyzed, it is exceedingly diverse from the other. It speaks in regard to self, the language of self-condemnation in regard to God, the deepest abasement, the highest reverence and the most perfect trust. Life, in my case, has been distinguished by forgetfulness of God, by neglect of duty, and by many sins. Goodness and mercy have followed me, but insensibility has made it no proper return. Though surrounded with many and striking proofs of God's love, I have refused to hear his voice, and to escape the wrath to come. I am vile and hell-deserving. No wrath, not that which burns to the lowest hell, is too great for me. My heart is crushed by the weight of its crimes. Though my sins may have taken various directions, they have all centred in God; against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight. Anon, as the eye rests more immediately on God, it sees the Father, and the emotions of the beloved son gush forth from the soul. He has no pleasure in the death of the sinner, he is able and willing to save to the uttermost, all who come to him. He hath provided redemption in blood. He inviteth the weary and heavy-laden to come, and him that cometh he doth not

cast out. Reverence and love, assurance and gratitude, combine to form the varied feelings which course through the heart, and utter the homage which the poor penitent renders to the majesty he adores.

The result of what they did, finally, claims our attention. It is expressed in the language, I tell you, this man went down to his house justified, rather than the other. Much as these worshippers differed in their views and feelings, there was no less diversity in the issue of what they did. The preference of the one to the other, of the publican to the pharisee, may appear to be expressed in language which indicates a slight difference. It is, however, not to be overlooked, that the design is not to express degrees of acceptance, not to trace shades of excellency where there was fundamental sameness, but to make known, unequivocally, the acceptance of the one, and the rejection of the other. If any philological difficulty should impede such a conclusion, the analogy of faith must interpose, and by its authoritative decision pronounce, that whilst in the pharisee there is a want of the prescribed conditions of salvation, in the publican they appear in their utmost fulness. We need not traverse the record very widely, to discover the principle which guides the decisions of heaven's chancery. Appended to the parable, we have the Savior's deduction, which throws, we think, all needed light upon the topic; for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. The one was justified, and not the other. The result is expressed in the word justification. The publican went down, descended from the elevated temple, to his humble home, a justified man. If we restrict the meaning of this word to the simple idea that his course was approved, and the other's condemned, that he was right, and the other wrong, it would, though not positively erroneous, restrict a term of large import to a very narrow sphere. That which had taken place was the forgiveness of his sins, and his gracious acceptance through a mediator. The mercy for which he put in his plea, was awarded him by God, the sentence of condemnation which rested upon him was removed, and he was pronounced acquitted. The injured law no longer demanded his punishment. His doom was not an eternal hell. In the sight of God, he stood innocent and pure. Robed in a righteousness provided by God's mercy, he had a title to an inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. He went up with sorrow, he departed with joy. He went up trembling with apprehension, he went down disburdened of his care. He ascended with sorrowing countenance, he re-

traced his steps with peace beaming in his eye. His ascent was with slow steps, pressed down by grief, his return was speedy, and his steps were light. Great is the blessedness of God's justified ones: beauty has been given them for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. Great is the blessedness of God's justified ones: they are new creatures, they have been created anew in Christ Jesus to new works, they rejoice in hope, they have peace with God, they travel as pilgrims to a city which hath foundations.

The pharisee went up without contrition, and he departed without peace. His worship prepared him to overrate himself and to despise others. It could do him no good. It could not advance his happiness. As he had been, so he remained, with a stronger tendency in the tortuous direction in which he was progressing. He was not prepared to acquire, or to distribute true blessings. Wretched are the children of pride, who cannot humble themselves under the hand of God, how can they learn of him who was meek and lowly in heart, how can they welcome his humbling religion, how can they glory in his cross? Their doom is written, if they repent not, they perish. Self-exaltation, pride, the sin of fallen angels, cannot be considered compatible with homage to God, it cannot approach God through the great mediator, and commune with him, it cannot be admitted into God's everlasting kingdom.

The publican's destiny how different. Happy in his gains, happy in his prospects, exalted on earth, there awaits him a higher exaltation on Christ's day. Before assembled men and angels, the great judge will ratify publicly the secret transactions of earth, and reveal to the universe the secrets of the heart. Such then is the result, and it is of much significance, and from it we may learn how God should be approached, and that it is most true, that his sacrifices are a broken and contrite heart, that a broken and contrite heart he will not despise.

ARTICLE VII.

A Discourse on the Marriage at Cana, by the Rev. G. C. Harless, D. D., formerly Professor of Theology at Leipzig; now Court Preacher at Dresden. Translated by a pupil of Hagerstown Female Seminary.

We regard this as a valuable discourse, upon a very interesting subject. The views of the author are new, and presented in a striking manner; and if we are not mistaken, they remove the difficulties encountered by commentators, in their attempts to explain the miracle at Cana. It is here discussed in its relation to prophecy, and also presented as *itself* a type of the feast to be held in the upper sanctuary, when Christ shall drink of the fruit of the vine with the redeemed in his Father's kingdom. And this view of the matter is well calculated to silence the sneers of the rationalist, and remove the difficulties of the hyper-orthodox on the subject of temperance. Indeed, the miracle, as thus understood, is vindicated against all cavilers and objectors—has a flood of light cast upon it, and reflects, mirror-like, both the power and goodness of God.

The historical connection of the discourse adds not a little to its interest. It was delivered at Leipzig, January 14, 1849, shortly after the storm which convulsed Europe to its centre, had passed away, and left its troubled waters behind. The minds of men were unsettled, both in regard to politics and religion. The wildest confusion reigned in the state, and the church was scarcely less agitated. Socialism, and radicalism in all its varied forms, offered their panaceas as sovereign remedies for the maladies of the state; and rationalistic infidelity proposed its nostrums to cure the disorders that afflicted the church. The people were tossed as the troubled sea by the stormy winds. Amid this war of conflicting opinions, the preacher, true to his mission, lifts up his voice in defence of the truth. Doctor Harless holds a distinguished position among the evangelical party of Germany, and is successfully exerting his great talents and influence to promote the cause of genuine piety. It is equally honorable to the court of Saxony, as to the preacher, that such a man should hold such a place. The peculiar style of the author increased the difficulty of the translation; but if the discourse should afford the reader half the pleasure it has given the writer of this, then the translator will be abundantly rewarded.

C. C. B.

THE MANIFESTATIONS OF CHRIST'S GRACE.

Grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. 'There are, my beloved, even among sincere christians, some who believe they have reason to lament that Christ no longer manifests himself in Christendom by

signs and wonders. It appears to them that the present time is devoid of interest and life, in comparison to the New Testament history. This complaint seems to me just as unreasonable as would be the lament of him, who stood under a tree loaded with fruit, that it was no longer covered with blossoms. Every thing has its time, not only in ordinary life, in the world; but also in the kingdom of God. This also has its spring, its summer, its autumn, and its winter. Christ's coming into the world constituted the spring-time of his kingdom. The signs and wonders which Christ performed when on earth, are something quite different from that which may be called by those names, for they are only the forerunners of the coming spring, the loud speaking witnesses that that time had appeared, as the word of prophecy had described it, as the time of salvation for Israel, and the day of regeneration when David's seed would found an eternal kingdom upon earth, and in this seed, the God of Israel, even Immanuel, would be God with Israel and all nations. These were the days which Christ himself compared to the time when no one should mourn, because the bridegroom was present. But the time will come, says Christ further, Matt. 9: 15, when the bridegroom will be taken away, then will they fast. But the present is the time when the bridegroom is taken away to the glory of heaven, and we are expecting his return. Who can then expect that this should be a time of those signs and wonders which announced the arrival of the bridegroom? And still this is a time when he also, though absent and invisible in his glory, is and remains with us, according to his grace, until the end of days, and gives us manifestations of his gracious presence, if we only have eyes to see them. May God open our eyes and hearts to the comforts of such knowledge!

TEXT:—*John, Chap. 2d, 1st to the 11th verse.*

What then occurred, was the first sign of the presence of the Lord of glory, given for this purpose, that the apostles should believe on Jesus, as the promised and expected Savior of Israel, a sign which cannot appear in such a form again, nor did it re-appear in the days of Christ's humiliation, a first and last of its kind. This sign will probably have its full explanation and fulfilment, first, in the kingdom of his glory, when Christ will drink anew of the fruits of the vine, with his own in his Father's kingdom. But in the meantime, there remains to us the general instruction and comfort of all those signs which are contained in the word of God. Each individual miracle represents the grace and mercy of Christ, which

are always the same, and is written for our instruction and comfort, if ever we should misunderstand the tokens of his present grace, desire false signs, or despair of Christ's mercy. Let us then, meditating on the manifestations of Christ's grace, learn from our text what God's word teaches us, as to their nature. The nature of his grace embraces the following particulars: First, Christ gives us that which is precious, for nothing. Second, Out of small things he makes glorious things. Third, He gives that which is best at last. Fourth, He gives it at his own hour, and not according to our wishes.

I. The first manifestation of Christ's grace, consists in his giving that which is precious for nothing. This was the meaning of the first miracle, and it remains the first fruits of the manifestations of Christ's grace. Wine not made of the fruits of the vine, and not bought with gold and silver, is presented on the day of the wedding—is presented gratuitously to the guests of the feast, at which Israel was to learn the indications of the promised time. But the signs of the promised time were, according to the prophetic word, among others, that the Lord of Israel himself, would prepare for all nations a feast of pure wine, wine in which are no dregs, which the thirsty might procure without money and without price. That this time was about to be fulfilled, Christ will let the people of Israel see, as with bodily eyes, when he presents wine to the guests, not from an earthly press, but flowing from his Almighty hand. And for this he chooses a wedding day. He had come, indeed, as the bridegroom of Israel, (and) the Lord revealed, therefore, for the first time, his glory on a wedding day, in order to make himself known to the people whom he was wooing, through this first sign, which was an earnest of their promised blessings. It was a small sign, yet highly significant, on account of the prophetic word. For the Lord, who gives precious things gratuitously, revealed himself in the fulfilment of the word, by giving wine not made by men, nor to be bought of men, and therefore gratuitously offered and enjoyed. But this is the nature of all the manifestations of Christ's grace, and those only who look to this, and are disposed to receive the best, the most glorious and blissful gifts gratuitously, have their eyes and hearts open to Christ's grace. For as it is said, in a general sense, that every good and perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of lights; so it must also be said, on the contrary, that every good and perfect *thing* is a gift, that cometh from above. But such a gift must necessarily be gratuitous. And that the highest good is a free gift, is confirmed by the keystone of all revelation, Christ and his

grace. Now, indeed, the blessing arising from this grace and gift, remains not for the careless, who bury the gift. But much less does any thing good and perfect fall to the lot of those who want to know of nothing, but what they can call their own acquisition, their conquest, their creation, and their merit. And this applies as well to the lives of individuals, as of nations. If we only call that precious which we owe to ourselves, and refuse to acknowledge the good which we have, whether small or great, as a good by God's grace; if we, from ridiculous pride, reject that precious thing, which is given gratuitously, we shall behold, within the shortest time, the imaginary glory of our possessions, lying in dust and ashes. I think the history of 1848 has given already, the plainest illustration of this truth. But where the heads bow before the Lord, who wills that every good and perfect thing be recognized as his gift, and bestows also the most precious things gratuitously, there the light of the manifestations of Christ's grace has already risen, and will reveal its glory in inconceivable bliss and peace.

II. But Christ's grace manifests itself also in his making glorious things out of small. The place of earthly joy was to become, as our text relates, a temple in which divine glory appears; the vessels placed after the manner of purification of the Jews, were to receive the first evidence of the renewing power of the New Testament; out of small things were to come great things, out of water, precious wine. But do we see this principle first exhibited at Cana? Was it not from the despised nation of the Jews, that he came, who is king forever? Was not the Virgin Mary, who bore the Lord and Redeemer of the world, an humble handmaid? Did not the veil over the law of Moses, and the sackcloth cover of the prophetic word, conceal the germ out of which the wonderful flower of world-redeeming love broke forth before the eyes of men? But as it was then, so it is now. Feeble man is attracted to that which is great and glorious to human eyes, in persons and things. To this they look for salvation! For that which is not deep and witty, but appears simple and plain—that which, instead of appearing powerful and mighty, seems small and insignificant, is condemned as unworthy, by the folly of man. Nay, it is even to the present day the foolishness of preaching, against which all the world revolts, that has remained the means of salvation, which the apostle testifies to be chosen, as something foolish, weak, ignoble and despised before the world. But what blessing do those forfeit, who reject this divine truth! I will not mention that they lose

thereby, the knowledge of the persons and means, chosen of God in Christ, in preference to others, to lead us to the chief good. For these will never make a great show outwardly, nor appear especially adapted to the end in view. But there is another inquiry, which, under certain circumstances, is felt still more sensibly. And what I mean is this, that we shall have a wrong view and estimation of our condition. For the language of the apostle, "when I am weak then I am strong," will appear to us as a whim and foolishness. We shall, on the contrary, deem ourselves safe when we are strong, protected, filled, satisfied, and wise; for the world says, "water never becomes wine." But I say, on the contrary, neither will your cold, lukewarm, or hot water become wine, if you consider it wine, and think that greatness consists in being great in your own estimation. For God makes glorious things out of small, if instead of trusting our littleness, we rely upon God's grace as sufficient for us, that grace which bestows what is precious gratuitously, and makes our humiliation our exaltation, our weakness strength, our suffering joy, and our anguish comfort, and changes our tears into the wine of peace with which the Lord refreshes us. Whoever believes this has overcome the tribulation of the world, and has an eye for the manifestations of Christ's grace, which makes glorious things out of small.

III. But lest false impatience disturb us in this our expectation, let us also consider what our text represents as the nature of Christ's grace, in the third topic. This is, that Christ gives us what is best, last. Truly this is a source of astonishment to all masters of feasts in Judea, and in the whole world. For they want to overload us with good things from the very beginning; they brew and garnish in wild confusion, and make the people drunk and foolish, and all this for no other purpose than to prevent them from finding the sour wine that is to follow after. Precisely so are acting, at the present day, masters of feasts, who are feasting the people on domestic happiness and national welfare, only with this difference, that they give, instead of good wine, promises of good wine, and make the people drunk therewith, that they may the more readily afterwards dispense their sour wine. The master of the feast at Cana, was indeed more honest. But truly it is not worth the trouble, nor the honor, to stop one moment at the comparison of these wicked and perverse men, with the master of the feast of Cana; much less with Christ the Lord.

This, however, is the main point, and it is certain that Christ's grace has this nature, that he gives what is best, last. The wedding in Galilee was not the first instance of this kind.

The fathers and prophets spake, moved by Christ's spirit, long before the son himself announced the fulness of grace with human lips. Likewise also, the beginning in the life of the Lord was humiliation, suffering and the cross; the end, resurrection, ascension, and glory. In his kingdom also, it is not the beginning, but the end, that is glorious. This is no less the case in the hearts and lives of his own at all times. First they go down, before they rise up. The anguish of repentance precedes the bliss and comfort of faith; the pain of the christian fight precedes the triumph of victory. So, living in him is only the beginning of bliss; but the most blissful on earth is the end—dying in the Lord. And then after death, and the end of the world, Christ gives us the true end—the full measure of eternal glorification. I beseech every one not to be offended by the tribulation of the beginning; this hides in the germ, the glory of the end. Everywhere it is at the end that Christ gives the best.

IV. But if I say everywhere, even in the pilgrimage of our earthly days, let none forget the fourth criterion of Christ's grace. This consists in his doing, disposing, and arranging every thing, at his hour, not according to our own thoughts. But this will remain a fundamental law of his government of grace, for his kingdom upon earth, until the end. That Christ designed this law to be kept and observed, he certainly has clearly shown on the day of this miracle, when he first manifested his glory. Even the mother of our Lord stands, according to our text, not over, but under this law. And her example proves that it is not sufficient to believe in the power of Christ's ability. Of this the mother of the Lord will not doubt. But she prescribes to the divine Son time and hour. And the answer which, in our translation, sounds harsh, is in the original not harsh; he merely tells his earthly mother there was no relation between him and her, by which it became her to make a demand before his hour and time. Shall, therefore, the sons of the house that Christ has bought, have a right to place themselves above the mother, above the Lord's power and dictation, so that they may prescribe to Christ time and hour according to their thoughts. But if this, at first sight, looks like refusal, oppression, or limitation, it was, in reality, compliance of the highest kind. For nothing else is expressed by Christ, than that contained in the declaration, that he has numbered even the hairs of our head, and knows what we need before we ask. In this sense, Mary understood him. Now she firmly expects his help, and charges the people to be obedient to the word of the Son. This example we should

follow. We ought not to think or to say, now is the hour to help. We ought rather to say, Lord I believe and know that thou helpest, when thy hour is come; thy hour is my hour; thy delay, my gain; thy trial, my school; thy compliance an answer above what we can ask or understand. He who so speaks has understood our text, has taken to heart the manner in which Christ guides us by his grace. And in such a heart, the apparent refusal of the Lord, is reflected as the most gracious compliance, not only then, but always, when we surrender ourselves to the word and will of the Lord, like a child that does not prescribe anything to its beloved mother, but is fully assured that the mother's kindness will abundantly supply, at the right time, any real want. This is Christ's rule. The language of our hymn is correct in the declaration, "with mother's hand he leads his own both here and there." A mother's faithfulness is not guided by the imaginations of the child, but by the proper hour which she knows, and in which she feels sure of her right to help and to give. And truly, there is nothing to compare with the knowledge, that when Christ manifests his grace, it is not our thoughts, that have caused it, but that the hour is come which he has recognized as the time of help and grace; and which he seals by the act and truth of his grace. Therefore, Lord, not as I will, but as thou wilt, thy hour be my hour!

Now, beloved, this knowledge, this truth is not buried in the death of Christ our Lord, who arose; it still lives to-day, as he lives and rules. Therefore, he who will live secure under his government, and witness the signs of his grace, must not depend upon his own thoughts, nor prescribe to the Lord how and when he shall be gracious. Depend much more upon the signs of the times and the hours of the Lord, and bow before the will of his word. He gives at his hour, and not according to our wishes. Then fortify your hearts with patience, and say, the Lord truly gives that which is best, last. Nor let the small, the humble and insignificant in you and around you, deceive your hope. For the Lord makes our small things glorious; yea, he gives that which is precious for nothing. Let this be the moving-spring of your faith and your love to the Lord.—Amen.

ARTICLE VIII.

ENGLISH HYMNOLOGY.

In our former number (Ev. Review p. 422 to 457) we have given an outline of the progress of English literature in the department of sacred poetry, to which our attention is directed, from the close of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. At this point we find several independent and somewhat rival groups of writers of hymns. First, the school of Watts and the Independent and Presbyterian Dissenters. Secondly, the Methodist school of the Wesleys. Thirdly, the Baptists, who, at a very early period of their history in England, began to manifest that taste for hymns and congregational singing, by which they have ever since been distinguished. As early as 1732, the Rev. Joseph Stennett published his versions and imitations of Solomon's Song, together with a number of hymns upon baptism and the Lord's Supper. Among the latter, several possess very decided merit, especially the one commencing, "Lord at thy table I behold, the wonders of thy grace," which is found in most of our church collections. He is also the author of that excellent hymn, commencing, "Another six day's work is done." But his grandson, Samuel Stennett, D. D., who also succeeded his father as pastor of a Baptist church in London, has taken a much higher rank as a writer of hymns, than his grand-father, Joseph Stennett. With occasional offences against good taste and judgment, he is one of the most correct and acceptable writers of hymns in our language, as is testified by such hymns as, "To God the universal king," "On Jordan's stormy banks I stand," "With tears of anguish I lament, Here at thy feet, my God," and, "Majestic sweetness sits enthroned Upon the Savior's brow," which last alone, would be sufficient to establish his position as one of our very best writers.

Samuel Medley, Dr. John Fawcett, and Miss Anne Steele, are also to be added to this interesting group of singers, who praised God in the Baptist church. To all of these we are indebted for some hymns which could not well be spared from our English collections. But this is more especially the fact in regard to Miss (or, as the English give title to a maiden lady who is no longer young, Mrs.) Steele. Her hymns commencing, "Dear refuge of my weary soul," "Happy the man

whose wishes climb," "He lives, the great Redeemer lives," "How lovely, how divinely sweet," "My Father, cheering name," and others, will long continue to animate the devotions of the people of God. But it is also true in regard to her, as well as to many others whom we have already noticed, that the acceptability of her hymns is owing, in a great degree, to the care of her critics, who have prepared them for our church collections. So far as I have examined, very few of her hymns would be suitable for either public or social worship, without very considerable alterations, many of them being entirely too long, and others very faulty and careless in their composition.

To the Methodist group, headed by the illustrious brothers, John and Charles Wesley, belong John Bakewell, Thomas Olivers, Bishop Gambold, John Cennick and Robert Robinson, although the three last named did not permanently attach themselves to the Methodist church, the last (author of the hymn commencing, "Come thou fount of ev'ry blessing,") having apostatized into Socinianism, and the other two going over to the Moravian church, of which Gambold was made a Bishop. None of them, however, deserves a very high rank as a writer of hymns.

Nearly contemporaneous with these groups, kindred in spirit, but still, in many respects, widely different, were the Olney poets, Cowper and Newton. Though deeply imbued with Methodist views of religion, they practised John Wesley's theory, and remained faithful, but liberal members of the established church of England. Between Newton and Cowper, also, there is a strongly marked contrast. Newton was a man of warm and deep, but clear and calm feelings, combined with a beautiful serenity of mind. Cowper's temperament was still more susceptible to every impression, but the dark night of melancholy had finally settled down upon it, and involved it in a gloom only occasionally dispersed by the bright beams of a better world, and lighted up, from time to time, by the fitful fires of his wonderful genius. Newton's education was very defective—Cowper was a finished scholar. Newton is rather a poor versifier—Cowper a genuine poet, although we are inclined to think that his hymns give less proof of this than any of his efforts in this direction.

There are few of Mr. Montgomery's decisions with which we are better satisfied, than his estimate of Newton, which is as follows: "On the whole, though it must be acknowledged that Newton was a poet of very humble order, yet he has produced, in his Olney collection, proofs of great versatility in

exercising the one talent of this kind entrusted to him. He has also turned it to the best account, by rendering it wholly subservient to the best purposes in the service of God and man. With this sanction, all his deficiencies as a technical versifier, will be forgiven and forgotten by those who have the religious feeling which can appreciate the far higher excellencies of the plain, practical, and often lively, fervent, and sincere effusions of a heart full to overflowing of the love of God, and laboring with indefatigable zeal to promote the kingdom of Christ upon earth."

Montgomery's sketch of Cowper's hymns, as given in his preface to the "Olney hymns," and in his essay upon Cowper in his "Select Christian Authors," as quoted by Creamer,¹ is also well worth transcribing: "The first fruits of his muse, after he had been '*baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire,*' will ever be precious (independent of their other merits) as the transcripts of his happiest feelings, the memorials of his walk with God, and his daily experience (amidst conflicts and discouragements) of the consoling power of that religion in which he had found peace, and often enjoyed peace to a degree that passed understanding. On the other hand, his mightier efforts of genius—the poems by which he commands universal admiration—though they breathe the soul of the purest, holiest, humblest piety, and might have been written amid the clear shining of the sun of righteousness, arisen upon him with healing in his wings—were yet composed under darkness like that of the valley of the shadow of death." "His hymns, like all his best compositions, are principally communings with his own heart, or avowals of personal christian experience. As such, they are frequently applicable to every believer's feelings, and touch, unexpectedly, the most secret springs of sorrow and of joy—faith, fear, hope, love, trial, despondency and triumph. Some allude to infirmities the most difficult to be described, but often the source of excruciating anguish to the tender conscience. The hymn, "As birds their infant brood protect," is written with the confidence of inspiration and the authority of a prophet. The hymn, "Thy mansion is the christian's heart," is a perfect allegory in miniature; without a failing point, or confusion of metaphor from beginning to end. Hymn, "I was a grovelling creature once," presents a transformation which, if found in Ovid, might have been extolled as the happiest of his fictions. Hymn, "Gracious Lord, our children see," closes with one of the hardest figures to be met

¹ Pp. 62 and 63 of his "Methodist Hymnology."

with out of the Hebrew scriptures. None but a poet of the highest order would have written it; verses cannot go beyond it, and painting cannot approach it. Hymn, "My song shall bless the Lord of all," is in a strain of noble simplicity, expressive of confidence the most remote from presumption, and such as a heart at peace with God alone could employ and utter. Who can read the hymn, "The Savior, what a noble flame," without feeling as if he could, at that moment, forsake all, take up his cross, and follow his Savior? The hymn, "God of my life, to thee I call," is a model of tender pleading, of believing, persevering prayer, in trouble; and the following one is a brief parody of Bunyan's finest passage, *The Valley of the Shadow of Death*, and is admirable of its kind. The reader might almost imagine himself Christian on his pilgrimage, the triumph and the trance are brought so home to his bosom. Hymn, "God moves in a mysterious way," is a lyric of high tone and character, and rendered awfully interesting by the circumstances under which it was written in the twilight of departing reason."

This characterization is very graphic and beautiful, and, generally correct, although it contains some hymns which we would not have selected as specimens of Cowper's higher powers as a writer of hymns, and omits others which are among the dearest to those whose devotions have long been guided and animated by them. In that commencing, "Thy mansion is the christian's heart," for instance, much of the language is too low for that elevated intercourse which the soul would fain hold with God in sacred song. "A thievish swarm infests the place," and "There, too, a sharp designing trade, Sin, Satan, and the world maintain," are expressions which grate upon the feelings as well as upon the ear, and check the upward aspirations of the soul. Neither do we rank the two hymns, "The Savior, what a noble flame," and "My soul is sad and much dismay'd," as high as Montgomery seems here to place them. But in mentioning the flower of Cowper's hymns, we would have added to the two, "My song shall bless the Lord of all," and "God of my life, to thee I call," such as these: "There is a fountain fill'd with blood," "The Spirit breathes upon the word," "This is the feast of heav'nly wine," "The billows swell, the winds are high," "Almighty king, whose wondrous hand," "O Lord, my best desires fulfil," "Far from the world, O Lord, I flee," "Sometimes a light surprises, The christian while he sings" (leaving away the last verse), "I thirst, but not as once I did," and "What thousands never knew the road." These are all admirably adapted to

public or to social worship, and lift the soul, as upon wings of the cherubim, up to the highest heaven, making it to feel that it is before the throne, and in the very presence of its God and Savior, its Mediator and Redeemer, to whom it freely presents its most cherished desires, and its loftiest praises. But besides these, Cowper has also written many strains that are dear to the worshiper of Jesus, either for his private devotions, or for the social circle of more intimate friends, who meet the Savior as he used to reveal himself to the affectionate family of Bethany, when "*Mary sat at Jesus' feet.*" Such are, "Oh, for a closer walk with God," "Hark, my soul, it is the Lord," "What various hindrances we meet, In coming to a mercy seat," "The Lord will happiness divine," "When darkness long has veil'd my mind," "Far from the world, O Lord, I flee," "Breathe from the gentle south, O Lord," and "Winter has a joy for me."

Most of Cowper's hymns are based upon a distinct passage of scripture, and some of his paraphrases of whole passages are very good, such as, "Heal us, Immanuel, here we are," "Jesus whose blood so freely stream'd," "Ere God had built the mountains," "Hear what God the Lord hath spoken," "My God, till I received my stroke," "The Lord proclaims his grace abroad," "Ye sons of earth prepare the plough," though some of these, as, for instance, the three last cited, are not at all fit to be sung, being too prosaic, and containing various expressions that are rather theological than lyrical. Still more is this the case with his historical hymns, of which it is difficult to find a half dozen in the English language that are at all devotional, at least when employed for singing. Of this, the pieces which Cowper heads "*Jehovah-Jireh*" and "*Jehovah-Nissi*," are remarkable examples. No music can infuse devotion into such passages as,

"This Abram found: he raised the knife;
God saw and said, forbear!
Yon ram shall yield his meaner life;
Behold the victim there."

Or this:

"By whom was David taught
To aim the deadly blow,
When he Goliath fought,
And laid the Gittite low."

Cowper is also occasionally harsh in his construction of verses, and loose and incorrect in his rhymes, but in both these respects he is greatly in advance of most of his predecessors,

showing not only a higher finish in his poetry, and loftier genius than most of those who had heretofore consecrated their lyre to the service of the church, but likewise the gradual improvement of the English language, and the higher polish which it had now received. Cowper lived in the golden age of English literature. Addison, Pope, Thompson and Shenstone had preceded him, and Young, Chatterton, Akenside, Gray, Goldsmith, Johnson and Burns, to say nothing of the great prose writers and orators of that period, were his contemporaries. Of this higher development and finish, this increased strength and beauty of the English language, his hymns, the productions of one of the prominent, though most retiring and morbidly modest, literary characters of the age, Cowper's poems naturally bear traces and give evidence.

The death of Cowper brings us to the close of the eighteenth century (1800), but most of his hymns were written considerably before that time. In the meantime, considerable additions were gradually making to our stock of English hymns, and the list of authors was so increased, that by the time Rippon and Dobell published their great collections, just at the close of the eighteenth, and beginning of the nineteenth century, they could enumerate between two and three hundred writers of hymns, from whose productions they could select strains which they considered suitable to animate the devotions of God's people. The more prominent of these, besides those already mentioned, are, Beddome, Greene, Gibbons, Hammond, Hart, Hill, Straphan, Browne, Berridge, Voke, Scott, Conder, Needham, Francis, Hoskins, Burder, Cruttenden, Turner, Fountain, Stogdon, Humphreys, Duncan, Ryland, Jones, Ward, Rippon, Pearce, Davies and Dwight. The last two names bring us to America, and mark the rise of this department of literature among us, and the hymns of these two distinguished men were a fair prelude to the beautiful and lofty strains in which our poets were to celebrate the praises of God, and the great doctrines and duties of religion.

Amid this mass of writers, however, it is scarcely necessary for us to say, that very few attained to any high degree of excellence. We occasionally meet with an acceptable hymn, as a matter of course, but the great mass of them barely reach and seldom rise above mediocrity. The popularity of these hymns, and their incorporation into so many different collections, instead of being any proof of their excellence, or of the genius of their authors, is only unmistakeable evidence of the uncultivated taste, and low state of literature and general intelligence in the various communions for whom they were

prepared, and by whom they were received with so much favor. Some of these writers, as Beddome, Voke, Davies and Dwight, have produced a number of very excellent hymns. Beddome seems to have formed his style upon the model of Watts, to whom he is generally superior in smoothness of versification, but wants his richness of creative power. His hymn commencing,

"Ye worlds of light, that roll so near
The Savior's throne of shining bliss,
O tell, how mean your glories are,—
How faint and few, compar'd with his."

may be ranked among our very best hymns. It is, indeed, marred by one or two blemishes, but the removal of these has made it one of our most popular pieces. His hymn,

"Ye trembling souls, dismiss your fears;
Be mercy all your theme ;—
Mercy, which like a river flows
In one continued stream."

is also admirable.

Some of Voke's "Missionary hymns" are also very acceptable, such as, "Thy people, Lord, who trust thy word," "Behold th' expected time draw near," "Ye messengers of Christ, His sovereign voice obey," though not of the very highest order, either in conception or style. Rippon also has produced some very delightful pieces, of which the one commencing "Earth has engrossed my love too long," is, perhaps, the finest.

The two Presidents, Davies of Princeton, and Dwight of Yale College, are worthy of notice, not only as pioneers in this department of American literature, but also from the intrinsic merit of their hymns. They are both names that adorn American theology and literature generally, and their hymns are very interesting specimens of their usual happy style of writing. Dr. Davies' hymn commencing

"While o'er our guilty land, O Lord,
We view the terrors of thy sword,
O! whither shall the helpless fly;
To whom, but thee, direct their cry."

is, perhaps, one of his less perfect, but, to the American christian, certainly one of his most interesting productions. It is a memento of our revolutionary struggle, and directs us to the source of our strength and endurance in those "days which tried men's souls," and reveals the secret of our national success and victory. It is one of the most interesting evidences

that the American Revolution was not, as our German brethren, especially, are prone to think, a mere outburst of human passion, an ungodly rebellion against heaven itself, as represented by its tyrannical rulers upon earth, but a struggle for religious as well as for civil liberty. We may also remark, in passing, that it is a source of sincere gratification to us Lutherans of America, that the first representatives of our German church, in this country, were identified with this great struggle for the rights of conscience, as well as the rights of man—that the prayers of Muhlenberg ascended with those of Davies, not only for God's mercy upon our suffering country, but also for the success of her armies, in which his son¹ stood shoulder to shoulder with Washington, even leading to battle the people to whom he had but a short time before preached.

Davies' hymn to the Holy Spirit, "Eternal Spirit! source of light, Enlivening, consecrating fire," to Christ as our Prophet, Priest and King, "Jesus, how precious is thy name? The great Jehovah's darling thou!" on the Judgment, "How great, how terrible that God, Who shakes creation with his nod!" and that entitled "The pardoning God," which begins with the words, "Great God of wonders! all thy ways, Are matchless, godlike and divine," are perhaps his best pieces. It is true, they all admit of improvement, and have generally been improved by the omission of one or two stanzas, or the change of some expressions, but they are certainly above the average of hymns of that day.

Had Dr. Dwight written nothing else than that most precious hymn, "I love thy kingdom, Lord, The house of thine abode," it would have endeared him to all christians who long for and delight in the communion of saints, and who believe in "one holy, christian church." And that this hymn, written by a Congregationalist, but a few removes from the stern Puritans and radical Independents of New England, should equally animate the devotions, and quicken the love of Christ's church in the hearts of God's people, whether called Congregationalists or Methodists, Presbyterians or Episcopalians, Reformed or Lutherans, is strong evidence that it is the same spirit by which all these diversified forms of church polity are animated.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century furnishes us with three of the most illustrious names in the history of English hymnology; Henry Kirke White, Reginald Heber and James Montgomery. The first has left us but a few hymns, but these

¹ Gen. Peter Muhlenberg.

are of such a character as to make us lament his early death, as no less a loss to religion than to literature. No one has ever doubted the justice of the eulogium pronounced upon him by Byron, when in the glorious spring-time of his wonderful but misdirected and erratic powers, he exclaimed :

"Unhappy White ! while life was in its spring,
And thy young muse just waved her joyous wing,
The spoiler came, and all thy promise fair
Has sought the grave, to sleep forever there.
Oh ! what a noble heart was here undone,
When Science' self destroyed her favorite son ;
Yes ! she too much indulged thy fond pursuit,
She sow'd the seeds, but death has reap'd the fruit.
'Twas thine own genius gave the final blow,
And help'd to plant the wound that laid thee low."

But the christian who has learned the sincere and unaffected piety of this youthful disciple of Jesus, and whose spirit has been raised to heaven by the inspirations of his song, takes no such gloomy view of the fate of this child, not only of genius, but of God ; he is assured that the youthful bard does not sleep in the grave forever, but has ascended to a higher life, there to strike the notes of a loftier song, to which even Cherubim and Seraphim may listen with rapture. We are not sure that the English language contains two more admirable hymns than that on the power and majesty of God, commencing, "The Lord our God is cloth'd with might," and that so generally known as "The star of Bethlehem," and beginning with the words, "When marshal'd on the nightly plain," and these alone would have served to embalm the memory of the youthful bard, so generally known by the affectionate name of Henry Kirke White, in the memories of all the lovers of devotional poetry. In addition to these, however, he has left behind him several other hymns breathing the same spirit, although not so sublimely. But it was equal injustice to White and to the christian public, when inconsiderate admiration, or utterly false conceptions of the nature and properties of a hymn, put into our collections of hymns, the ode commencing "What is this passing scene," and which he no more intended for a hymn than for a tragedy.

A few years later (1811—12) Reginald Heber, afterwards bishop of Calcutta, commenced the publication of his hymns, in that well known periodical, the "Christian Observer." Some fifty in number, all these hymns give evidence of the refined taste and skilful versification of their accomplished author, as

well as of the progress which English literature had now made towards a more refined and more elevated, if not more original and vigorous form. Some of them also have taken, and will long maintain their rank among our most admirable hymns. Such is the fact with the hymns for Advent Sunday, "Hosanna to the living Lord;" for the second Sunday in Advent, "The Lord will come! the earth shall quake;" for St. Stephen's Day, "The Son of God goes forth to war;" for Epiphany, "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning;" for Whitsunday, "Spirit of truth! on this thy day;" for the second Sunday after Trinity, "Forth from the dark and stormy sky;" for the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, "Weep not, oh mother! sounds of lamentation;" and several others. But, above all, his most beautiful "Missionary Hymn," which resounds wherever there is a heart that feels for the wretched condition of heathendom, or that intelligently prays, "Thy kingdom come," must forever preserve the name of Heber from oblivion. Other hymns of Heber fall far below the merits of those just cited, so that they scarcely seem to proceed from the same pen. Some of them, in fact, can scarcely be brought within the definition of a hymn at all, as, for instance, that for the "First Sunday after Trinity," which commences,

"The feeble pulse, the gasping breath,
The clenched teeth, the glazed eye,
Are these thy sting, thou dreadful death?
O grave, are these thy victory?"

in which the last verse is the only one that would at all be adapted to singing. But with all this, we can only regret that this admirable writer has not left us a still larger collection of his hymns, so many of which are among our most exquisite compositions, for both public worship and private devotion.

James Montgomery, born in 1771, commenced his literary career somewhat earlier than either Henry Kirke White or Heber, was cotemporary with them both, and has, in our day, achieved the fulness of his fame, and, at last, after a long career of honor upon earth, been transferred to the heavenly chair, there to sing the praises of God and of the Lamb in still loftier strains than those which he has so sublimely attuned for the devotions of God's people in their earthly sanctuaries.

Montgomery is one of our most prolific, but, at the same time, most careful and elegant writers of hymns. His first efforts, like those of so many English writers of hymns, were directed to the versification, or rather, imitation of the Psalms, and appeared, in the year 1822, under the title of "Songs of

Zion, being imitations of the Psalms," and containing some seventy pieces. That in versification and diction, these are decidedly superior to any thing of the kind that had preceded them in the English language, we have no hesitation whatever in asserting, and the fact is so obvious, that it is unnecessary for us to go into a minute comparison of these with the psalms of Watts, to say nothing of inferior writers. His versions of the nineteenth Psalm, "Thy glory, Lord, the heavens declare," of the twenty-seventh, "God is my strong salvation," of the seventy-second, "Hail to the Lord's anointed," and various others, have long taken their place among our standard hymns. But these first efforts are by no means his most successful ones. Devoting a great part of his long literary life to these compositions, and sparing no pains in his endeavors to perfect them, Montgomery naturally continued to improve, and his last labors of this kind exhibit a polish and finish altogether unrivalled by any author who has written so much. He was not originally, by any means, a hasty writer. In an introductory note to his "Songs of Zion," he observes, "whatever feebleness or bad taste may be displayed in the execution of these pieces, he (the author) offers not to the public the premature fruits of idleness or haste. So far as he recollects, he has endeavored to do his best, and in doing so, he has never hesitated to sacrifice ambitious ornament to simplicity, clearness, and force of thought and expression." But in the last collection of his "Sacred Poems and Hymns," published in 1853, we not only find that he has carefully revised such of these hymns as he is willing to transfer to what he styles "*the most serious work of my long life* (now passing four-score)," but that he entirely rejects the greater part of them, doubtless because they did not correspond to his ideal of what a hymn ought to be. Of course, as in the case of all ideals of genius, none of his productions, however admirable, completely realized the poet's loftiest conceptions, but we can learn how severe was his task, and how conscientious his efforts to perfect his work, when we find him rejecting much, even of his own, which others have so highly admired.

To his careful composition we have the most explicit testimony of his intimate friend, Holland, who also prepared for the press, the last edition of his hymns, to which we have already referred, prefacing to it an elaborate Introduction, in which (p. XXXIX) we find the following statement: "Many persons who read his hymns and other pieces, so smooth in metre, so sweet in their cadences, so natural and exact in phraseology, may suppose that they are struck off at a heat, in

moments of inspiration ; in plain terms, that they are produced with as little labor as they are read. Nothing can be farther from the fact ; for whatever may have been the mode of catching and fixing first thoughts, the whole has been submitted to careful and frequent elaboration or revision. As it was my privilege to transcribe for the press the greater part of the matter of the following pages (of course without the alteration of a single word of the author's final corrections), I may be presumed to know something of the process alluded to, from the character of his manuscripts, most of which presented abundant evidence of the *limae labor* ; and in addition to this palimpsest appearance of the original copies, they were sometimes multiplied in *variorum* forms, one hymn, I recollect, existing in not fewer than *ten* different versions !"

We cannot adopt the partial judgment of Mr. Holland's friendship and veneration for his friend, when he thus sums up his views of Montgomery's character as a writer of hymns : "In the language, not of hyperbole, but of truth, it may be said, that the hymns of the Sheffield poet present evidence of every variety of the excellence which he has pointed out in others. In 'catholicity' they are not inferior to those of Dr. Watts ; in 'daring and victorious flights' of spiritual aspiration, they sometimes rival those of Charles Wesley ; they are 'very pleasing,' like Addison's, not only when, like his, they celebrate 'the God of Providence,' but because the God of grace is 'more distinctly recognized in them ;' equally with Doddridge's 'they shine in the beauty of holiness ;' with Toplady's, there is in some of them 'a peculiarly ethereal spirit ;' while often, like Beddome's, a single idea is ingeniously brought out, 'not with a mere point at the end, but with the terseness and simplicity of a Greek epigram ;' and all this is heightened and deepened by the affecting conviction that, the best compositions of Montgomery, as of Cowper, 'are principally communings with his own heart, or avowals of christian experience ; as such, they are frequently applicable to every believer's feelings, and touch, unexpectedly, the secret springs of joy and sorrow, faith, fear, hope, love, trial, despondency and triumph." On the contrary, we must confess that in most of his pieces there is still something wanting to meet our idea of a perfect hymn, such as it ought to be, alike in thought, spirit, form and phraseology, in order most completely to promote "the communion of saints," rich and poor, learned and ignorant, refined and uncultivated, with each other, and with their common God and Savior, whether in the family circle, where the father officiates as priest, and offers up the sacrifice of praise and

prayer for his own household, in the prayer meeting, where "*they that fear the Lord speak often one to another*," or in the great assembly where "*with the sound of the harp and the organ*," the voices of God's people ascend as with the deep melody of the sea, to the throne of him who rules over sea and land, and in the hearts of those who "worship him in spirit and in truth" through Jesus Christ. We say that Montgomery often fails to satisfy our demands in regard to the composition of a hymn, and that we find many single hymns of other writers, which we greatly prefer to any that he has ever written. But still, as a whole, we prefer the three hundred and fifty-five hymns of his collection of "Original hymns and sacred poems," to the collective writings of any writer of hymns in the English language with whom we are at present acquainted. To be sure, these pieces are not all hymns, in the proper sense of the term, some of them are too historical, and can never be sung with any thing like devotional feelings, and almost come under the judgment which he has himself pronounced upon the historical hymns of the Olney collection, but the great body of them are characterized by correct sentiment, poetical diction, elegant versification, and a depth of devotional feeling, which must forever endear them to those who desire to honor God with songs of prayer, and praise, and adoration.

But who does not feel his "*heart turn within*" him, whenever he reads, and much more when he sings such strains as these, "Holy, holy, holy Lord;" "Thus saith the high and lofty One;" "Heralds of creation! cry;"—"Return, my soul, unto thy rest;" "The Lord is my shepherd, nor want shall I know;" "When on Sinai's top I see;" "Bow every knee at Jesus' name;" "Songs of praise the angels sang;" "Hark the song of jubilee;" "To thy temple I repair;" "According to thy gracious word;" "Lift up your heads, ye gates, and wide;" "Father! reveal thy son in me;" "Mercy alone can meet my case," "Father! thy will, not mine be done!" "Thousands, O Lord of hosts! this day;" "God is my strong salvation;" "In the hour of trial;" "My God beneath thy watching eye;" "O where shall rest be found?" "There is a river pure and bright;" "Forever with the Lord!" "Eternity! Eternity!" "Angels from the realms of glory;" "Children of Zion, know your king;" "Daughter of Zion, from the dust;" "O Spirit of the living God;" "Hail to the Lord's anointed;" "Go to the grave in all thy glorious prime;" "Glory to the Father give." To these we might add many more, vastly superior, both in form and in spirit, to the great mass of hymns,

often falsely so called, with which our hymn books are now burdened and deformed, to the exclusion of that which is far better, and would be more acceptable, as well as more edifying to the christian worshiper. Among these are such pieces as, "What is the thing of greatest price?" "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire;" "People of the living God," and many other pieces, which, though not properly embraced in a strict definition of a hymn, are still highly devotional and edifying.

Some of the pieces which we have quoted are not so familiar to christian worshipers as they should be, partly, because they are not embraced in church hymn books generally, and partly, because they have only made their appearance before the public within a short time, the last collection of Montgomery's hymns having been published in this country but little more than a year since. We are, however, surprised that Mr. Beecher, whose "*Plymouth Collection*," so admirable in many respects, might naturally be expected to contain the most recent productions of the sacred muse, has apparently overlooked the whole body of Montgomery's later hymns. We do not know when it was written, but, so far as we are aware, no congregational hymn book yet contains the following, which stands first in this publication :

1 "Holy, Holy, Holy Lord,
God of hosts ! when heaven and earth
Out of darkness at thy word,
Issued into glorious birth,
All thy works before thee stood,
And thine eye beheld them good,
While they sang with sweet accord,
Holy, Holy, Holy Lord !

2 Holy, Holy, Holy ! Thee,
One Jehovah evermore,
Father, Son and Spirit ! We
Dust and ashes, would adore ;
Lightly by the world esteem'd,
From that world by thee redeem'd,
Sing we here with glad accord,
Holy, Holy, Holy Lord !

3 Holy, Holy, Holy ! all
Heaven's triumphant choir shall sing,
When the ransom'd nations fall
At the footstool of their king ;
Then shall saints and seraphim,
Hearts and voices swell one hymn,
Round the throne with full accord,
Holy, Holy, Holy Lord !"

It is deeply interesting to those connected with German churches, especially to us in America, who are brought into such close contact with English elements, to observe the influence of our German hymns upon Montgomery also. This is very distinctly brought before us by his editor, Mr. Holland, from whose introduction we have already quoted. "It may be proper," says he, p. XIII, "to show what are his qualifications for the attempt to add 'new strings to the celestial lyre,' new strains of sacred harmony to those which the church has so long possessed and approved, and this without the risk, upon his part, of lessening a well-earned poetical reputation, by an ill-timed contest for the cheap distinction of a merely religious versifier. Those persons who know anything of the early life of James Montgomery, as sketched by himself, in the preface to his collected poems, will remember that he was born and brought up among the Moravians, a people in whose public worship and private devotions, singing, whether aided by instrumental accompaniment or not, always formed a large and delightful element. In this branch of divine service, as maintained in the church of his fathers, the youthful poet took an early and an abiding interest; and, as might be expected, in imitations of the simple but heart-touching compositions of the hymn book then in use among the brethren, and long afterwards revised by him, the earliest kindlings of his genius manifested themselves." These hymns of the Moravian church, as is well known, are chiefly translations from the German, for we perceive no indications that Mr. Montgomery was acquainted with their originals; which shows how completely the English has overpowered the German language in Great Britain, where the influx of Germans has, of course, been very small.

We scarcely know whether to attribute it to the original force of genius in Montgomery, or to an extraordinary vitality in our German hymns, that they should, even in the imperfect form in which they are exhibited in the translations of the Moravian hymn book, have exercised so favorable an influence upon the development of his poetical character, and the formation of his taste. As we have already observed, the hymns of the "*Psalmodia Germanica*," appear to have been the basis of the first English hymn book of the brethren, the imperfect character of which work we have also indicated. By request of the Provincial Conference of the United Brethren, in 1835, Mr. Montgomery undertook, we will not say with the English editors of the hymn book, "the delicate," but certainly the exceedingly difficult—almost herculean task of revising this

work. And although it was in his hands nearly twelve years, his success has certainly been very limited, and the work, even as it has come from the hands of the illustrious poet, is exceedingly imperfect. How far his emendations and suggestions were taken by the editing committee, we have no means of knowing, but are greatly surprised that he should have allowed such a work to go abroad with the sanction of his name. Nor can we think, from the evidence here presented to us, that Mr. Montgomery had any acquaintance whatever with the exquisite originals of many of the pieces, which he has here sent forth to the church in a form so mutilated and lame, that we can scarcely recognize the almost perfect originals of many of them. Take as an example, the third hymn in the English hymn book of 1849, which is a translation of Clausnitzer's hymn, commencing "*Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier*," of which the third stanza in the translation reads thus :

"Holy Ghost, eternal God,
We now humbly ask the favor,
Shed in all our hearts abroad,
The great love of God our Savior;
Bless our prayer and meditation,
And accept our supplication."

Taking it for granted that Mr. Montgomery knew nothing of the original, for, if he did, it is inconceivable that he should have admitted this as its English representative, we are utterly at a loss to conceive how he could tolerate such false metre as is involved in commencing the second, fourth and sixth lines with an unaccented, instead of an accented syllable, by which the whole structure of the verse is changed from trochaic to iambic. Mr. Montgomery is, indeed, sometimes faulty in his own compositions, in neglecting the accent, and placing it upon the wrong syllable, but he is there never chargeable with such gross blunders as we find in the stanza just quoted, and we cannot conceive what induced him to tolerate such a form of versification. But besides this, the metre of the translation does not, in any respect, reproduce that of the original, so that it could not possibly be sung to the same tune, and from this, and the metrical character of many other hymns in his revision of the Moravian book, we infer that Mr. Montgomery had no acquaintance with the original German tunes. We are also sorry to perceive that the able revisor has done so little to improve the literary character of these translations generally.

We ought, perhaps, to have mentioned as anterior to the three illustrious writers of the present century, although living contemporaneously with them in its commencement, two emi-

nent female writers—Mrs. Barbauld and Mrs. Hannah More. The former devoted her muse almost exclusively to religious topics, and several of her hymns are admirable, as, for instance, those commencing, "How blest the righteous when he dies," "Jehovah reigns: let every nation hear," and "Again the Lord of life and light," although most of them are long for our usual church service. Her "Hymns for Children" are also very beautiful, but not adapted to singing, being in prose. Hannah More occupies the very highest rank among our female writers, and we cannot but regret that she did not furnish us with a greater number of hymns. To this list of illustrious female writers of hymns, we might also add Jane Taylor, well known by her "Hymns for Infant Minds," though many of these have little or nothing of a devotional element in them.

In our own day, and especially in the United States, we rejoice in many writers of hymns of the most admirable character. Keble can scarcely be placed among writers of hymns, though his "Christian Year" seemed so naturally to lead to something of that kind. Mrs. Opie has given us several fine hymns. Browning and Martineau, and Howitt, though heterodox in prose, like true poets generally, become orthodox under the sacred afflatus of song. Mary Lundie Duncan has also given us many very sweet hymns. In our own country, Drs. Miller, Alexander and Mills, Muhlenberg, Onderdonk and Doane, Pierpont, S. F. Smith, Eliza Follen, Mrs. Sigourney, and our great poets, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell and Whittier have all given us various pieces of sacred song, which have commended themselves to all classes of christian worshippers. Dr. Alexander is distinguished for the elegance of his translations from the German, and Dr. Mills' "*Horae Germanicae*," of which we are glad to see that a second edition, greatly enlarged, is about making its appearance, has made a very great advance upon all previous attempts upon so large a scale, to present the English public with our standard German hymns, in a metrical dress at all correspondent to their originals. Hoping that we shall have a copy of this in time to notice it along with other "Collections of Hymns," to which we propose devoting another number of these notes upon "English Hymnology," we abstain, for the present, from any criticisms upon Dr. Mills' work.

ARTICLE IX.

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia: being a condensed translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia. With additions from other sources. By Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D., Pastor of the First German Reformed Church, Philadelphia. Assisted by distinguished Theologians of various denominations. Part I. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.—1856. To be continued in twelve parts.

With Herzog's Cyclopaedia, in the original, we have been acquainted since the first numbers appeared in the United States. Thus far we have received the first three volumes, containing each nearly eight hundred pages. The subjects, embracing Theology in the widest sense, are treated alphabetically, and the letter E has been reached, and considerable progress made in it. As the numbers have appeared from time to time, we have read articles contained in them, historical, biographical, exegetical, dogmatical, &c., some of which are of great length, and highly elaborated, the productions of men of eminent talents and extensive learning. We are entirely satisfied, from the execution thus far, that the work will be of the highest value, and will constitute a rich storehouse of theological learning, brought down to the latest period.

The co-operation of many of the ablest men of Germany, has been secured, and distinguished divines of other countries have been enlisted. The article on Edwards and his school, was prepared by Dr. Stowe, of Andover.

The work will be free from the taint of rationalism, though not by any means devoted to any specific phase of orthodoxy.

Soon after the first numbers appeared, it was seen that the promise of a work of great value was so decided, that a translation of it into English, was extensively spoken of in the United States, but, although it was proposed to parcel it out and divide the labor, it appeared a formidable undertaking, and was not attacked by the original projectors. Dr. Bomberger and his assistants have displayed more courage, and have buckled on their armor. The first achievement, we have in the livraison noticed at the head of our article. The Editor proposes to abridge and to improve, and to publish in twelve parts.

Using his own judgment and that of his friends, this may have appeared to be the best plan. There is room, however, for difference of opinion, and we think that the translation of the whole would have been preferable. It is true that the plan adopted, if well carried out, will furnish a highly useful book, and those who cannot read the original, will have reason to be thankful for it, their gratitude would be greater if the whole had been given them.

We desire for those engaged in this enterprize, success; we hope that their toil will be rewarded. We will copy two or three of the articles as specimens. From these, our readers will be able to form an idea of the execution of the translation, and the mode in which subjects are treated in these volumes. Let the translators take great pains in their translation, if they occasionally meet an expression which is obscure, let them seek light, where it can be found. This may prevent some blemishes, and add to the accuracy of their version. It may not have occurred to them that the original contains, particularly in the Hebrew words, typographical errors. The uncorrected transfer of these errors into the translation, presents the appearance, to say the least, of haste, and makes the list of errata too large, when to these are added, others which are not in the original.

We copy the following biography, which is a favorable sample of the translation. Some things have been omitted, which we have not supplied. One error of the press we have corrected:

"Alber, *Matthew* (born at Reutlingen, Dec. 4th, 1495), may justly be regarded as one among the most ardent champions of the Reformation in the south of Germany. His father, Joyce Alber, a goldsmith, having suffered great loss by fire in 1502, Matthew, in order to complete his studies for the ministry, was compelled, like Luther, to gather means for this purpose by singing. In his sixteenth year he obtained a situation in Reutlingen as assistant in the Latin school and musician. He continued there, however, but one year, and then went to Tübingen, where he pursued his studies, supporting himself by teaching Latin. In the year 1516 he took the bachelor degree, and two years afterwards received the A. M. Aided by the authorities of his native place, he spent three years in a course of study at Freiburg in Breisgau, and after having reached the *Baccalaureus biblicus* and *sententiarius*, he returned to Tübingen to finish theology under James Lempus and Martin Plantschus. Having cheerfully accepted a call from his native town, he was ordained to the priesthood at Constance, and began the discharge of his functions at Reutlingen, by openly proclaiming evangelical truth, and delivering lectures in his house for the brothers of the Barefooted monastery, many of whom were inclined to the Reformation, whilst the peo-

ple in general, gave a decided preference to its doctrines. In the year 1524 M. Caspar Wölflin, a priest in Reutlingen, complained before the Abbot of Königsbrunn, who was patron of the state churches, that he could no longer celebrate the old ecclesiastical services in a becoming manner, because of the contempt with which they were treated, and that his assistants, so far from rendering him due obedience, had become his masters, and requested his dismissal. The commission sent to settle these difficulties, failed in their attempt; for Alber, who had obtained the highest ecclesiastical power in the town, by being substituted as vicar, in place of the one sent by the abbot, could arrange the church-services according to fixed principles and the spirit of the gospel. Refusing to obey a summons to appear before the Bishop of Constance to answer for his conduct, Alber and the town were put under ban by the bishop and Pope Leo X.; whilst the imperial court issued sentence against the town. Not alarmed by these decrees, which, though posted up against the doors of churches and public places, had no influence, Alber put a stop to the singing of high mass, and the reading of mass in Latin, removed the pictures of the saints, and introduced the German language. About this time he married Clara Baier. Escorted by fifty of his townsmen to the gates of Esslingen, where he had been summoned to appear before the supreme court to give an account of himself, he openly confessed belief in the sixty-eight heresies that were charged against him, and supported them by passages from Holy Writ, but denied ever to have spoken against the Virgin Mary. His candor and courage made a favorable impression even upon his enemies. At the expiration of three days he was permitted to return home in safety. Other dangers now beset him. The Anabaptists attempted to gain a foothold in Reutlingen, but Alber compelled them to leave the town by the vigor and force of his preaching. The peasant war having broken out, efforts were made to stir up the citizens in rebellion against the authorities, but were thwarted by Alber's impressive discourses. Hereupon Luther wrote a letter, in which he congratulated Alber upon his success, approved of the changes made in the ceremonies, and whilst warning him against the Sacramentarians, expressed a hope that He who had called him to His wonderful light without his assistance, would also stand by him in every emergency. Zwingle, it is well known, had tried in a letter of Nov. 16, 1526, to win him over to his peculiar view of the Holy Sacrament, but the Reformer of Reutlingen adhered firmly to the doctrine of Luther, with whom he became personally acquainted at Wittenberg, 1536. In the following year he waged a vigorous war against the retaining of images, before the conference at Urach, and in 1539 received the Doctorate from the University of Tübingen. Reutlingen having been compelled to accept the Interim, he left his native place 25th June, 1548. In no long time, however, the Duke Ulrich called him to be Antistes of the Cathedral church in Stuttgart, and Duke Christopher nominated him a member of the church council. He died Dec. 2d, 1570, deeply lamented by a large circle of children and relatives, and by all those who knew how to appreciate his erudition, indefatigable industry and lofty courage, his constant honesty of purpose, and his habitual courtesy. He is worthy of mention also as an author;

from his pen we have several sermons, a catechism for the instruction of the youth of Reutlingen in the true doctrines of christianity, and a treatise on the right use of the doctrine of the eternal Providence of God. (Comp. Fischlin, Schnurrer, Bottele, Vaihinger.)"

Another biographical article, which likewise has omitted several interesting items, is the following:

"Alesius, *Alexander* (properly Alesz, also Alexander ab Ales), a distinguished Lutheran Theologian, born at Edinburg, April 23, 1500. Whilst Canon of St. Andrews, at the commencement of the Reformation, his Roman Catholic convictions were greatly shaken by the reading of Luther's writings. At this time also he was appointed to influence Patrick Hamilton, who had been condemned to be burned for heresy, to recant; but by his conversations with Hamilton, especially by the heroic faith with which he sealed the stability of his convictions at the stake, he was won over entirely to the Reformation, without, however, making his change of views public. But he did not escape suspicion, and was even imprisoned for a year, after which he found opportunity to escape. In 1532 he went to Germany, where he made the acquaintance of Luther and Melanchthon, and subscribed to the Augsburg Confession. In 1533 he wrote a Latin "Epistle" in vindication of the free use of the Scriptures by the laity in the vernacular language, which had been prohibited by a decree of several Scottish bishops. This Epistle involved him in a literary controversy with John Cochläus, the well-known opponent of Luther, who, at the instigation and pay of the Scottish bishops, wrote a reply, full of abuse and slander, which he addressed to King James V.: "*An expediat laicis legere N. T. libr. lingua vernacula?*" This gave Alesius opportunity for a more powerful "*responsio ad Cochlaei calumnias*," also addressed to James V. At the commencement of the English Reformation he was invited by Cranmer and Cromwell to England, which invitation he accepted in the hope that by the establishment of the Reformation there, he might accomplish something for the gospel in his native country. Through the influence of his friends he was appointed Professor of Theology at Cambridge; but his lectures aroused so much opposition among the papists, that he soon discontinued them and went to London, where he practised medicine. He returned to Germany in 1540, and was for a short time Professor of Theology at Frankfort on the Oder, and afterwards at Leipsic, where, in union with Melanchthon, he labored for the interest of the evangelical church until his death, March 17, 1565. His works are exegetical, dogmatical, and polemical (Comm. on John, Rom., Tim., on Justification, the Trinity; *cohortatio ad concordiam piet. ac doctrinae Christ. defensionem, missa in patriam suam* Lips. 1544; ad 32 articulos cet. ed. a Theologis Lovaniensibus, Lips. 1545, &c.). As the friend and associate of Melanchthon, whose conciliatory position between Calvinism and Lutheranism he occupied, he frequently participated in the conferences and religious discussions of his time. He took part in the conference at Worms (1540), at Naumburg (1554), at Nürnberg and Dresden (1555), and in the Nordhausen controversies. His dialectic skill and theological learning, together with his mod-

eration in all religious controversies, eminently qualified him for the conciliatory position he held. He appears to have been again in London between 1550-60, when, at the request of Cranmer, he translated the Common Prayer Book into Latin. Later he became involved in the synergistic controversy with George Major about good works, and was persecuted and reproached by Flacius and other Lutheran zealots for want of decision. He was also one of the delegates appointed to be present at the Council of Trent during the Interim. Camerarius, in his life of Melancthon, says of him: *rei theologicæ intelligentissimum et artificem excellentem congruentium disputationum et virum dignitate atque doctrina exquisita præstantem.*"

DR. G. WEBER.—Beck.

ARTICLE X.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Gospel in Ezekiel illustrated in a Series of Discourses. By the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, D. D., Edinburg. Author of "Pleas for Ragged Schools," &c. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. No. 285, Broadway.—1856.

The author of these lectures has, in Scotland, taken as a preacher, the place of Dr. Chalmers, so far as that place may be said to be filled. Regarding certain portions of the divine word as bringing the more prominent doctrines of salvation into juxta-position, and setting them side by side, almost in systematic order, within the short compass of a chapter, or even part of it, our author here selects, as one of the most striking of these, that portion of scripture found, Ezekiel xxxvi: 16-38, and then proceeds, in these lectures, to treat it as presenting an epitome or outline of the Gospel. He considers the 17th verse as exhibiting "man sinning:" the 18th, "man suffering:" the 21st, "man an object of mercy:" the 22d, "man an object of free mercy—mercy without merit:" the 24th, man's salvation resolved on:" the 25th, "man justified:" the 26th and 27th, "man renewed and sanctified:" the 28th, "man restored to the place and privileges which he forfeited by his sins:" "We have our security for these blessings in the assurance of the 36th verse," "and the means of obtaining them in the declaration of the 37th verse." In the first lecture the messenger, the party commissioned to deliver God's messages, the ambassador of Heaven, is considered: "Son of Man." This large and great subject, thus stated, is discussed in the work before us, in all the ample detail of its momentous bearings, and with great directness and force of practical application. With an acute discernment of the prominent features of the great economy of God with man, with broad and comprehensive views of the causes, the grand principles, and the exalted ends involved in the origination, the development and execution of the

divine scheme of redemption, the author combines a deep insight into the secret movements and workings of the human heart, great sagacity in selecting, and power of effectively presenting the motives most efficient to determine its right choice, and to fix its purpose, and a most fertile fancy and glowing imagination, to aid him in so exhibiting the whole subject under its various aspects, as to secure attention, to suggest and awaken serious thoughts, and to win every better feeling of human nature into the service of conscience and truth.

Dr. Guthrie's manner is his own: he pursues no beaten path, but presents his great theme from new, striking and most interesting points of view. Without being prepared to accept all his views, we can cordially recommend these lectures as most earnest, impressive and winning exhibitions of the great truths of the gospel, often thrillingly eloquent in their appeals to the understanding, the conscience and the heart.

Napoleon at St. Helena: or, Interesting Anecdotes and Remarkable Conversations of the Emperor during the five and a half years of his Captivity. Collected from the memorials of Las Casas, O'Meara, Montholon, Antomarchi and others. By John S. C. Abbott. With illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers.—1855.

This may be considered the third volume of Abbott's Napoleon: it constitutes an appropriate sequel to the general work, and, is got up, as to externals, in precisely the same style. It is a book of profound interest. In the conversations here recorded; in the many and long passages written down under his dictation, the mighty genius of this extraordinary man appears perhaps even in a more striking light than in his campaigns and victories. They excite the admiration and astonishment of the reader, at the vast amount of knowledge most unpretendingly displayed, the profound philosophical insight into the science of government, and the clear and comprehensive apprehension of the principles upon which civil society should be based, and justice administered, exhibited in terse and forcible language. The frankness with which Napoleon here discusses his own career, criticizes and even condemns many of his actions, lends a singular fascination to these pages. Many passages will serve to modify essentially the estimate of mankind of the character, and a good many public acts of the first French emperor. To readers generally, whether their opinion of the man be favorable or the reverse, this volume must be exceedingly interesting.

A new and comprehensive French Instructor based upon an Original and Philosophical method, applicable to the study of all languages. By Stephen Pearl Andrews, and George Batchelor, with an Introduction explanatory of the Method, and a Treatise on French Pronunciation, by Stephen Pearl Andrews. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 346 & 348, Broadway.—1855.

A work in which new and philosophical views upon language generally, and the method of teaching languages are very clearly stated and fully un-

folded, and exhibited in ample detail, in their practical application to effectual instruction in the French language particularly. The views here advanced, and the principles inculcated, deserve the candid attention and careful consideration of teachers, and the entire work will, if we mistake not, be found a valuable contribution to a branch of literature already of vast extent and compass.

The Divine Love. By John Eadie, D. D., LL. D. Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Glasgow, and Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.—1856.

The preface to these discourses will make known their character. They are valuable for practical purposes, and will do good.

PREFACE.

"The discourses contained in this volume are, in no sense nor aspect, critical, but are meant for ordinary readers, for the domestic circle, or the Lord's day evening. The one effort of the writer has been, to exhibit clearly, and enforce earnestly, the mind of the spirit on this precious and delightful theme. No uniform style of composition has been followed, but the common form of lectures has been adopted, as best fitted to bring out most naturally and fully, the instruction contained in the verses or paragraphs selected for exposition. Some have not the accredited shape of public addresses, as they have never been delivered from the pulpit. But love is the unvarying text, and who can ever weary of it? It is, in fine, the prayerful hope of the author, that his readers may be stimulated to adore, with renewed ardor, the manifestations of the divine love towards them, and to feel more powerfully its influence within them, as they strive to obey the first great command of the law."

Union with the Church, the solemn duty and the blessed privilege of all who would be saved. By Rev. H. Harbaugh—Author of "Heaven, or the Sainted dead;" "The Heavenly Recognition;" "The Heavenly Home;" "The Birds of the Bible," &c. "He that hath not the church for his Mother, hath not God for his Father." Second Edition, Revised. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.—1856.

It is the duty of every human being in christian countries, to be an active member of the church of Jesus Christ. He has established a church on earth, designed to embrace all for whom he has died, and he has tasted death for every man, and just so long as we fail to recognize its existence, and refuse membership in it, either original or renewed, we are living in hostility to God and the institutions of God. For a position so wicked, various excuses are alleged, all flimsy and utterly worthless. The command is clear, peremptory. We may disobey, but it is done at our peril. The diligent author of this little book, has attempted to meet the objections of those who stand aloof under various pretexts, and then to show the positive claims of the church.

The work is executed in a very creditable manner. It is well calculated to do good. Let it be read and pondered by those who are resorting to refuges of lies to escape a solemn duty, enjoined by the great Head of the Church. Let it be read by those who make light of that great institution, the church of Jesus, which carries with it unspeakable blessings, which has achieved so much for God's glory and man's happiness, and to which there is opening a future all over radiant with glory.

The Christian Life; its course, its hindrances, and its helps. By Thomas Arnold, D.D. Head Master of Rugby School, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. From the fifth London Edition. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.—1856.

The popularity of these discourses is not surprizing. They have value, which must recommend them to all who read them with care. They are the product of a thoughtful, an original mind. The subjects embraced by them are of the deepest interest. Their aim is to lead to reflection, and well suited are they, by the cogency of argument, and originality of conception, to induce thinking, and to lead to the happiest results. Our estimate of them, in a word, is very favorable.

Who are the Blessed? or, Meditations on the Beatitudes. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.

Anonymous. The production of some one of those men, who have devoted life to the great work of doing good. They are the salt of the earth. They are the light of the world. These meditations on the beatitudes are an offering of piety to human happiness. The theme rich, inexhaustible, the improvement is excellent. The author has taken pains to enrich his discourses with the best materials. In saying that he has used both Tholuck and Stier, those acquainted with these will know what ample materials he had at hand.

The Blind Girl of Wittenberg: A Life-Picture of the times of Luther and the Reformation. From the German. By John G. Morris, Pastor of the First Lutheran Church, Baltimore. For the Lutheran Board of Publication. Second Edition. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.—1856. pp. 307.

This work, which was briefly noticed in the last number of the Review, has already reached the second edition. It is an exceedingly interesting volume, containing a life-picture of Luther and his times. All the facts presented are supposed to have taken place, during the first ten years of the Reformation; and although the plot is fictitious, every sentiment which the immortal Luther is made to utter was, at one time, spoken by him in another connexion. With all the attractions of a most captivating romance, scenes of a thrilling character, connected with a very exciting period in German history, are vividly brought to view, and most deeply impressed upon the mind. The opinions and the very language of the great Reformer, on vari-

ous important subjects, are given, and interwoven most skilfully into a beautiful and intensely interesting story. We know of no book in the English language, which so fully exhibits to the general reader, the strong points in the character of that extraordinary man, raised up by Providence for a special purpose, and so satisfactorily presents his views on the grand doctrine of justification by faith. But the volume is full of gospel truth, and we are certain it will be read with pleasure and profit.

Although the work is said to be from the German, it is not thereby meant that it is a translation from the German. The ground-work, we believe, is German, but the filling up, or building up, is Dr. Morris'. Fanny Kemble Butler has recently published a book, which, she says, is "adapted from the German." That phrase, perhaps, is the one which could be properly employed in the present instance.

We are under obligations to the author for furnishing us with so valuable a production. We safely recommend the book, believing that it will be found useful for congregational and Sabbath School libraries, and trusting that it will be as extensively circulated in the church as its merits are deserving. Dr. Morris has done his part well; but we believe it is conceded on all sides that he is surpassed by no one in the church, in efforts of this kind, and we sincerely indulge the hope, that he will continue his labors in a direction so successfully commenced.

Luther's Christmas Tree. By T. Stork. With beautiful Illustrations. For the Lutheran Board of Publication. Second Edition. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.—pp. 32.

This little book was prepared at the request of our Lutheran Board of Publication, by Dr. Stork, as a Christmas gift for the young. It will prove an acceptable contribution to the holiday literature of the day, and will tend to increase the innocent pleasures of a christian home at a period, which commemorates the greatest event that has occurred in the history of the world. The book contains a brief outline of some of the principal incidents in Luther's life, and is admirably adapted to interest and instruct children. It is neatly got up, and illustrated with six beautiful cuts, representing interesting scenes in the history of the Reformer.

We are gratified with the design of the Board of Publication, to furnish the church with a series of works intended for circulation among our people, and we trust that this commendable effort will be encouraged by the church. The present volume is to be succeeded by others on different subjects, to be prepared by gentlemen designated by the Board.

God in History: an Address delivered before the Goethean and Diagnothean Literary Societies of Franklin and Marshall College, at the Annual Commencement, July 24th, 1855. By Rev. J. S. Crumbaugh, A. M. Lancaster, Pa.—pp. 32.

This is an excellent address, the production of a thoughtful mind, on a very interesting and profitable theme. God's agency in all the varied occurrences of life, is forcibly presented; his special providence is clearly recog-

nized in every page of history, and satisfactorily established. The subject is discussed with ability, and abounds with numerous illustrations, drawn from a variety of sources. The discourse is creditable to the head and the heart of the author.

Home Service : A Manual intended for those who are occasionally hindered from attending the house of God. With Sermons and a selection of Hymns. By Rev. W. Bacon Stevens, D. D. Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. Published by E. H. Butler and Company.—1856. pp. 347.

This volume is designed to furnish appropriate material on the Lord's day for those who are occasionally prevented from attending the services of the sanctuary. Various circumstances, such as sickness, affliction, inclemency of the weather, or remoteness from the house of God, may render the absence of the whole, or a portion of the family, absolutely necessary. Here may be found suitable devotional reading, which cannot fail to interest and edify those who are detained at home. The book consists of four services, intended for four Sabbaths, each one being different from the other, for the purpose of affording variety in the mode of worship, and of allowing some selection, where there may be a difference of taste. The character of the prayers is such, that no genuine christian, whatever may be his denominational views, can take exception to them. They, for the most part, consist of scriptural language, and are calculated to inspire devotion. It is also proposed that extemporaneous prayer, if preferred to the forms, be used in connexion with the service. Thirty choice hymns have been added, that the voice of melody may mingle with the voice of prayer, and thus additional interest be imparted to the service. Eight most excellent sermons, of a plain and practical nature, have also been introduced into the volume, so that every thing that is necessary for conducting social worship in the family, is furnished.

"Many devotional works, for public and private use, have often been published. We have numerous collections of hymns, and many volumes of excellent sermons, but this is the first attempt, we believe, in this country, to combine all the elements of divine service in one book, so arranged that all the family or friends can unite together in religious worship, when kept from the house of God. We like the design of the work, and we like its execution. Something of the kind, for social devotion, has really been a desideratum. The book supplies a want which has often been felt. It will be found exceedingly useful, and any denomination of christians may use it with profit. The author has performed an acceptable service, and is entitled to the congratulations of the religious public for his labors. It will prove to many families a welcome manual, and, we think we can confidently recommend it. We would do the publishers injustice, did we not refer to the mechanical execution of the volume. It is a most beautiful specimen of the art, and reflects the highest credit upon the American press. The taste and elegance with which the work has been executed, are worthy of all praise. The service thus rendered must meet with favor.

Prayer for Colleges: A Premium Essay. Written for the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West. By W. S. Tyler, Professor in Amherst College. New York: M. W. Dodd.—1855. pp. 214.

This is a premium essay, written by one whose name has long been before the public as an accomplished scholar, and a christian teacher. It is a book of no ephemeral value, but one which will always be read with interest by those who are in any way connected with our literary institutions. It abounds with important information, and useful suggestions upon the subjects which it treats, and they are presented with a simplicity and an earnestness which must give them influence, and render the work subservient to the cause of learning and religion.

The author most satisfactorily discusses the duty and the power of believing prayer, and the necessity of more faith and earnest supplication at the mercy seat at the present day. He shows the intimate connexion between colleges and all the great interests of the church, the country and the world. He likewise presents the solemn obligations of instructors and students, and those more immediately connected with the institution, as well as of all christians, who have an interest at the throne of grace, to bring the most potent of Heaven's appointed means to bear upon this great subject.

All these points are discussed with much ability, and the reader is put in the possession of much valuable matter. The influence which the college sustains to the church and the community, is forcibly presented, as also the services which it has rendered, not only to the cause of learning and religion, but likewise to human progress and human happiness.

We have risen from the perusal of this work with strong convictions of its excellence, and its power to do good. It ought to be circulated through the length and breadth of our land, and read, not only by those who are identified with our literary institutions, but by christians generally. We commend it to the attention of all, and shall rejoice if this brief notice shall lead our readers to procure and read the volume.

Archbishop Whately on good and bad Angels. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.—1856.

We have read with much pleasure, this work of an able and upright man. We can recommend it without qualification. It contains none of those doubtful disputations, to which we took exception in the "Future State," by the same author. Angelology, in its various aspects and bearings, is treated clearly and fully, and we can conscientiously endorse the labors of his pen.

The Broken Platform: or a brief Defence of our Symbolical Books against recent charges of Alleged Errors. By Rev. John N. Hoffman, of Reading, Pa. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.—1856. Svo. pp. 96.

This has not been sent to the resident editor.

A plea for the Augsburg Confession, in answer to the Objections of the Definite Platform: An address to all Ministers and laymen of the Evangelical Church of the United States. By W. J. Mann, Pastor of St. Michael and Zion Churches, Philadelphia. "The truth shall make you free."—*Jesus Christ.* For the Lutheran Board of Publication. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.—1856.

An attempt by an accomplished scholar and divine, to defend the Augsburg Confession against sundry charges brought against it. Controversy is not often conducted in so calm and fair a spirit as is evinced in this interesting little volume. The author has aimed to do good—to establish peace—and "blessed are the peace makers," said Jesus. The Lutheran Church in the United States is sufficiently divided already, further division can neither promote its glory nor that of God. Our efforts should be to unite. Let us be satisfied with what we have, and liberal in our terms of subscription. This, if not carried too far, is the true principle.

Glimpses of the Truth as it is in Jesus. By the Rev. Octavius Winslow, D. D., author of "The Glory of the Redeemer," "Midnight Harmonies," &c. "Behold, he standeth behind our wall, he looketh forth at the windows, showing himself through the lattice."—Sol. Song, 2: 9. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.

The teaching which humbles the sinner and exalts the Savior, is that which most commends itself to those who have imbibed the spirit of the Gospel. The praise must be awarded Dr. Winslow of aiming at these results, not only aiming at them, but furnishing ample and rich materials for their accomplishment.

The subjects of this volume are diversified, and yet the theme is one—Christ. "It contains the substance of a few discourses which the author delivered from the pulpit of different christian denominations in Scotland, during a recent visit to that magnificent and interesting land."

ARTICLE XI.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Paris—Letter from Dr. Tholuck to the Publisher of the Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft und Christliches Leben. Translated. (Extracts.)

You desire that I should communicate to you the impressions which I received from the alliance evangelique, which was in session, in Paris, from

the 22d of August till the 2d of October. If you desired a minute report, such as your Review contained in regard to the meeting in London, I could not furnish it to you; but a general representation of my impressions and reflexions, I will cheerfully supply.

As the name selected for this association of christians of different confessions, particularly the German translation of it, (Evangelical Union) (Evangelischer Bund), is but imperfectly adapted to express what was the main thing in the convention: permit me first to say a few words on the nature of those conventions, as they have been constituted in practice. It was certainly the view of the first founders of the Alliance, and still is, that all church organizations on Evangelical principles, should be regarded as equal, if not entirely amalgamated as one.

The question having been proposed by me to a private meeting of the leaders, whether they believed that they would be bound to maintain the bonds of brotherly union, if ministers of other Evangelical parties, located themselves in their congregations for the purpose of proselyting them to Methodism, Irvingism, or Baptism, it was said they would, as the right of conviction established on scripture, was universal. "We would lament the loss of our members," it was said, "but we would not resist, except by the truth, and we would not withdraw friendship from the brother of another confession, who had succeeded in introducing his doctrine into our churches by arguments superior to our own." From this position, the main object of the alliance appeared to these men, to be the recognition of an ecclesiastical equality of all confessions, and the fraternal union of all who partook in this conviction.

I very much doubt, however, whether this was the conception of the Alliance, and of its principles, in their entire extent, of all the English, Scotch, French, Swiss and Dutch members; many I heard say emphatically, they could not go so far, particularly against the Darbysts, who most threaten the French churches, a strong opposition is manifested amongst the French protestants, and when one of these appeared to distribute tracts in the place of meeting in Paris, a member of the committee belonging to the Independents, said, without reserve: *Nous l'avons fait promener*—as much as to say—we put him out. The Germans who were present had still less of that extended fraternal spirit.

For me, and the majority of my countrymen, the meeting meant a fraternal recognition of all believers, of all Evangelical denominations; the ecclesiastical equality might be allowed by him who had no conviction founded on the divine word, that his own church is the best. I heard many of the French brethren express themselves in the same way. In accordance with the plan which was formed at Lyons, the special theme of the addresses was not theoretical discussions concerning the church and creeds, and the relations of fraternal and church communion, but practical communications in regard to the condition of different branches of the evangelical church. Only on one day was the progress of the alliance discussed, on all the others, reports were presented on the state of religion by the representatives of the different nations, English, Americans, French, Germans, Swiss, Dutch,

Swedes, Danes, Italians, and last on the mission in Turkey, with which were connected special information in regard to inner missions, associations for the young and sanctification of the Sabbath. There were several representatives from all these countries, England, Scotland and North America furnished most, Germany about thirty, not theologians exclusively, but merchants, manufacturers and teachers, mostly from the territories of the Rhine; from Sweden five.

The meetings were held in the large prayer hall of the Lutheran church la redemption, and in the smaller chapel of the Parisian Independent Congregation, Taitbout—the oratoire of the still larger reformed church was not asked, from an apprehension, as was said, that objections would be made by the representative of the rationalistic party, A. Coquerel, and his associates. Notwithstanding the loud report that this was to be a meeting *der monde entier* christian (the whole christian world), the great mass of Parisians paid it no attention, but were entirely absorbed with the simultaneous appearance of Queen Victoria. No Catholics, the Parisians say, appeared. The greater part too, of the protestants, the worldly minded adherents of Coquerel mentioned before, left the assembly unnoticed as a party demonstration of Methodism *du parti methodiste*, so that the number scarcely exceeded five hundred; amongst them, particularly in the evening, were many laborers and people of the poorer class. It was in the period of the revival of christianity in Paris, 1825, that I attended a religious meeting in the afternoon, in an edifice in the direction of the Champs Elysees, it was once the dancing saloon of General Vandamme. The saloon lying along the garden was so full, that I could not get beyond the door, there I stood, whilst in one ear the solemn threatenings and precious invitations of the gospel entered, the other was filled with the seductions of the world, the clamor and music of the Champs Elysees.

This contrast was reproduced in a lively manner in my memory, as often as I passed, late in the evening, from the quiet, modest prayer hall of the rue Chauchat into the turmoil and glitter of the Champs Elysees which was near.

The protestant population hardly equals the common estimate, a million and a half, the efforts to convert, both honorable and dishonorable, not without effect, were directed to those amongst the protestants who were eminent in rank and life; a large part, too, of the more wealthy, have left the country; so that amongst those who remain, leading persons are not numerous, the rich, merchants and manufacturers, as in Germany, disregard the gospel, and are, in the main, of little use for religious and philanthropical purposes.

The number of evangelical protestants in Paris is very small, and is principally confined to females. And yet how much is done in France, namely in Paris, for external and internal missions, Deaconesses, Elementary teachers, visiting sick, neglected children, associations of young, prisoners, dismissed convicts, &c. There is hardly a German city that might not be ashamed, when compared with the little band of Parisian christians. For the alliance, considerable contributions of money were made by the poor and humble. In the published lists of congregations, consisting of poor colliers and woodmen, there are several which were formed of converts from Catholicism, whose members contributed from four to five francs.

An example of love presenting rich offerings may be mentioned in a person in good circumstances: A christian widow, of the Lutheran Church, not only gave her capacious house as a sojourn for a large number guests, but invited the most distinguished strangers to her table, and incurred the expense of two large entertainments for all the foreign members of the alliance.

A great missionary work is to be done by the protestants in the city. But to him who saw Paris in the renewed efforts of the last twenty years, what a happy change, especially in the ministry. Then a single active confessor of Orthodoxy in the Reformed church, at present the highly gifted Adolphe Monod—alas, dangerously ill—aside of him Grandpierre and others; in the Lutheran church, then nothing but indifference or enmity against the living gospel, now two in every respect distinguished divines, Meyer and Valette—the third of this admirable trefoil, the highly gifted Verney was, alas, taken away from this church, and has left a vacancy not easily filled, although he has been followed by a man who aims to labor in the same spirit, and in addition, there are some zealous spiritual assistants. Besides these two leading churches, salaried by the State, is the Independent church, which is not connected with the State, actively engaged in zealous efforts to convert Catholics in the city and in the suburbs. What an activity in the evangelization de la France! This handful of zealous protestants, opposed to thirty-three millions of Roman Catholics, with their priests—they look upon themselves as the salt, which is to season the entire mass! The protestants of all denominations, burning with zeal, feel bound to prosecute this work in the spirit of union.

In this respect, the alliance seems to have been much blessed in France, for things were not always thus. But at present, without enmity and strife, Reformed and Lutherans, Independents and Methodists aim at this result, and the Darbysts alone are feared and resisted, who abrogate all church bonds and the ministerial office. There were presented no comprehensive enumerations, the results of protestant missionary efforts, and this may be well.

But most astonishing was it, in a circle of French ministers from every part of France, to hear the particulars of their congregations! How great was the number of those, who spoke of fifty, of a hundred converts in their congregations, or of filial and mother churches which consisted entirely of converted Catholics—partly of ancient, partly of recent date. No other part of Europe—except, perhaps, Ireland, where protestantism, circulating the scriptures through evangelists and preachers, is making great progress, is so highly favored. In former years, I visited some congregations in Picardy, in the northern part of France, which consisted in part, or entirely, of such converts. I remember yet tenderly, the affectionate simplicity and brotherly love, which showed itself amongst them; soldiers who not long before, under Napoleon's banner, carried terror to Germany, testified to the grace of the gospel of peace.

The great advantage of the meeting was, that the Evangelical Church had the feeling awakened and strengthened, that it has one heart and Lord, and whenever one member suffers, all suffer, and when one rejoices, all rejoice, and that the various denominations should, in this spirit, give each other the hand of fellowship, and it is hoped that this will manifest itself in all who were present. Especially will that celebration of the Lord's Supper, which closed the whole, be retained in memory, in which the death of the Lord was set forth in French, English, German, Dutch, Swedish, Danish and Italian, and the same bread of communion distributed to members of the churches of so many countries, in the acknowledgment of that one Lord, who died for all. May the God of peace, who presided over this hour, and fused together the hearts, continue to rule over all the true members of his church for harmony and peace!

To the Ministers and members of the Ev. Lutheran Church in the United States of America.

The Evangelical Review completes, with the present number, its seventh volume. Through evil report and good, it has survived till this time. It may not be improper to examine what it has accomplished. Should it be continued? Is its circulation sufficient? It may be asked, what can be done to extend it?

In regard to the first point, we think it can be said that it has, in a good degree, accomplished what it proposed. It has enlisted a considerable number of writers, whose contributions form an exceedingly valuable body of theological literature, such as is specially interesting to Lutherans in America. The amount of historical information in respect to the Lutheran church, is very considerable. The large number of biographies of ministers of our church, faithful, in their day and generation, who have gone to their reward, may be regarded as a very valuable feature in it. The translations from the German are of great excellence and permanent value. An occasional article of a scientific character, has adorned our pages. An occasional article, more particularly designed for the heart, may be found in it. The list of contributors has increased every year, and the work of training men for the effective use of the pen, has been promoted. No candid man can survey the contents of the seven volumes published, without the conviction that a good and needed work has been performed.

As to its continuance, there ought, we think, to be but one opinion. If it came into existence to meet felt wants, if our church needed such an organ, to furnish a vehicle for the edification of her children, if, in establishing it, she was treading in the footsteps of the mother church in Germany, and the most enlightened and numerous churches in various parts of Christendom,

the inducements to go forward have not diminished, but increased. It may be asserted fearlessly, that at no time since the commencement of the Lutheran church in America, has there been a louder call for her friends to stand up in her defence, and if defended, it must be through her journals—learned discussion finds its appropriate place in the Review.

When we see what others around us are doing, how cordially they cherish their quarterlies, and devote to them their best talents, we ought not to withdraw and proclaim to the world, that we have nothing to say, either for ourselves, or the common cause of our master. The Review ought to be a fixture in the church, and to live, when we who now live, have gone to eternity.

Of our circulation we cannot boast. It has been, and is yet, small. During the last few years, it has been pretty uniform, not increasing or diminishing much. If we could secure a larger patronage, and we know not why our subscription list might not be doubled in the coming year, it would enable us to improve in various ways, and relieve us from pecuniary difficulties.

In conclusion, we respectfully ask those who desire the continuance of the Review, to aid us in its support and the extension of its circulation. If each minister who takes it, would obtain one or two additional subscribers, it would materially contribute to success.

ERRATA.

Page 338, 11th line from top, for 'we' read *and*.

- " 28th " after 'in appropriate' insert, *on the present occasion*.
- 330, 23d " for 'proposed,' read *prepared*.
- 352, 1st " for 'Hurm,' read *Hume*.
- " 14th " omit '*the*' before papacy.
- 353, 10th " for 'powers,' read *power*.
- " " same line, for 'where,' read *when*.
- " 11th " for 'where,' read *when*.
- 360, 7th " for 'or,' read *and*.
- 361, 23d " after 'give,' read *his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth &c. Christ came to seek &c.*
- 362, 17th " for 'to especially apprise,' read *and especially*.
- 363, 6th " for 'compels,' read *counsels*. [to apprise.
- " 16th from below, for 'the coming,' read *becoming*.

INDEX TO VOL. VII.

- Acts of the Apostles 142
 Agassiz's sketch 297
 American Debater 138
 Anspach Rev. F. R., Article by 245
 Araucunians 453
 Art Hints 453
 Brunnholtz, Reminiscences of 152
 Bridgman, Rev. A. L., Art. by 364
 Baccalaureate Discourse 204
 Bachman on the unity of the human race 400
 Baugher's Discourse 149
 Bible Prayer Book 135
 Blind Girl of Wittenberg 587
 Broken Platform 590
 Chemistry of Common Life 136
 Christ of History 449
 Christian Statesman 454
 Christian Theism 459
 Christian Life 587
 Coleridge 85
 Commentary on John's Gospel 301
 Contributors to the Review 150
 Cummings' minor works 459
 Definite Platform 293
 Deutsche Sprichwörter 295
 Diehl, Rev. G., Art. by 459
 Divine Love 586
 Division of the Decalogue 102
 English Hymnology 422, 563
 Escaped Nun 292
 Family Prayers 141
 Fiction 140
 Footsteps of St. Paul 134
 French Books 137
 Gen. Synod of Luth. Church 126, 413
 German Periodicals 298
 Glimpses of the Truth 591
 Glory of the Redeemer 453
 God in History 588
 Goodrich's Histories 143
 Gospel in Ezekiel 584
 Gospel in New Zealand 451
 Gunn, Reminiscences of 74
 Habit, influence of 190
 Handschuh, Reminiscences of 159
 Harper's Magazine 458
 Harper's Statistical Gazeteer of the world 133
 Harper's Story Books 450
 Hartwig, Reminiscences of 163
 Hazellius, " 377
 Hepburn's Address 149
 Herzog's Encyclopedia 580
 High Standard of Piety demanded by the times 365
 History of the Council of Trent 448
 History of the Lutheran Church in Frederick 459
 Home Service 589
 Homiletic 181
 Huc's Travels 476
 Hymnology 422, 263
 Jacobs, Reminiscences of 390
 Journey through the Chinese Empire 451
 Jus Ecclesiasticum 1
 Keller, Reminiscences of 63
 Key to French Exercises 137
 Krauth, Rev. C. P., Art. by 301
 Lamb's Works 454
 Lectures on English Literature 145
 Lectures on the evidences of Christianity 142
 Letters to Hughes 452
 Letters to the people on Health and Happiness 457
 Literary and Historical Miscellanies 136
 Lives of Queens of Scotland 135
 Loy, Rev. M., Art. by 215
 Lutheran Almanac 297
 Luther's Christmas Tree 458, 583
 Lutheran Manual 234, 145
 Manual of Ancient History 295
 Marriages of the sons of God with the daughters of men 497
 Marriage at Cana 557
 Martin Behaim 146
 Maryland Synod's Question 1
 Memoirs of Deceased Lutheran Clergymen 63, 151, 377, 527
 Memoir of Catherine E. Alleman 143
 Memoir of Rev. Sidney Smith 450
 Mexico and its Religion 456
 Mountains and Molehills 454
 Napoleon at St. Helena 585
 Nature of the Church 215

- Napoleon Bonaparte 455
 New French Instructor 585
 New method of learning French 137
 Notices of New Publications 132, 291,
 448, 584
 Our General Synod 413
 Pastoral Letter 544
 Patriarchy in the family 457
 Pharisee and Publican 547
 Physical Geography of the Sea 132
 Pictorial Histories 143
 Plea for the Augsburg Confession 591
 Practical Exegesis 173
 Prayer for Colleges 590
 Preces Pauline 451
 Priest, Puritan and Preacher 452
 Recollections of a journey through
 Tartary, Thibet and China 476
 Reformers before the Reformation 295
 Reformation, need of 296
 Reimensnyder's Address 149
 Religious Intelligence 591
 Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergy-
 men 63, 151, 377, 527
 Reynolds, Dr. W. M., Art. by 288
 Salzburger and their descendants 147
 Sanders' New Speller 139
 Schaeffer, Dr. C. F., Art. by 162
 Schaum, Reminiscences of 527
 Schmucker's Address 149
 Schultze, " 538
 Scripture Revelations concerning a
 future state 457
 Seiss, Rev. J. A., Art. by 1
 Sign of Humanity 295
 Signs of the times 141, 346
 Singing Book 140
 Southern Cross and Southern Crown
 451
 Sons of the Sires 297
 Spiritualism and Spirit-rapping 245
 Story of the Peasant Boy 139
 Theism 448
 Tholuck's Commentary on John's
 Gospel 301
 Travels in Europe and the East 133
 Two Martyrs of Brussels 288
 Tyler's Essay 590
 Ulrich, Rev. J., Art. by 346
 Union with the church 586
 Virgil's works 455
 Visits to European Celebrities 144
 Voice of the church 296
 Whately on good and bad angels 590
 Which—the right or the left 291
 Who are the Blessed 587
 Words of the Lord Jesus 295

